Daily Report

East Europe

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Tirana Asks For More Italian Armed Forces Aid

AU2312092691 Rome ANSA in English 0806 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] (ANSA) Tirana, December 22—Tirana has asked that Italian Armed Forces continue their emergency relief operations in Albania after January, when the remaining supplies sent by Rome to alleviate the country's desperate economic conditions will be distributed.

Prime Minister Vilson Ahmeti today thanked the Italian ambassador here, Torquato Cardilli, for Italy's efficient and rapid shipment and distribution of several tonnes of wheat, sugar, rice, butter and meat in the last three months and urged that Italian troops remain in the country to help distribute future European Community aid. He also expressed his country's appreciation for Italy's international efforts to get more (?aid sent) to Albania.

Italy on December 16 asked the European Community to establish an emergency aid program for Albania in early January saying it is willing to provide logistical support for future relief operation but that it cannot continue to shoulder the enormous financial burden (?alone).

Cardilli said three fourths of the Italian aid promised in October has been distributed in an operation dubbed Pellicano while the remaining 25 percent, mostly soap, detergents, butter and wheat, should be unloaded and distributed by the end of January. Another 45,000 tonnes of EC aid and 17,700 tonnes of wheat and butter from the United States are expected to arrive by the end of the month. School materials are being collected at the southern Italian port of Bari for shipment to Albania as well, the ambassador said.

Italian relief efforts have amounted to some 330 million dollars in the last three months, almost one third of Albania's gross domestic product. Per capita income in Albania, Europe's poorest country, is about 600 dollars a year.

A lower house defence commission delegation is expected here on a fact-finding mission on January 6, Cardilli said. Ahmeti, whose nomination as head of government was approved unanimously by the cabinet, has announced that general elections will be held in spring.

The Italian request for joint EC action in favor of Tirana has been accepted in principle by the Twelve and calls for at least 320 million dollars in aid, to match the figure provided by Italy.

President Alia Signs Consular, Military Decrees

AU2212205391 Tirana ATA in English 0904 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA) - The Press and Information Office close to the president informs that the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia signed on December 20 the decrees proposed by the Council of Ministers.

1. The approval in principle of the draft-agreement between the Republic of Albania and the Hellenic Republic on opening consular posts.

2. The decree on proclaiming the law "On the Military Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania".

3. The decree on the functions of the Defence Council and the general commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania.

4. The decree on the organisation of the Military Information Service and Counterespionage Service in the public order organs.

5. The decree on proclaiming the law "On the Adherence of the Republic of Albania to the Convention for Banning the Production and Holding in Stock of Bactereological (Biological) Weapons and Toxins and Their Destruction".

6. The decree on proclaiming the law "On the Ratification of the Convention on the Children's Rights."

7. The decree on the abrogation of the law No.7383, dated 8.5.1990 "On Social Courts."

'Great Difficulties' Reported in Power Supplies

AU2212211091 Tirana ATA in English 0951 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA) - Although the hydro-energy situation in Albania has never been more favourable than this year, the inhabitants of Tirana and of many districts of the country are recently faced with great difficulties in the supply with electric energy. According to the specialists and officials of the General Electro-Energy Department, this situation is due to the great intensity of the electric network, which catches up the figure of 150-200 per cent. [sentence as received] This has lead to the combustion of nearly 35 transformers in Tirana and of 90 ones on a country's scale.

In Tirana, about 5,000 down to 7,000 families lack electric power every day. Such a situation is triggered off among other things, also by the general anomaly in distributing fuels, as fire-woods and coal. According to the specialists of this sector, in an 11-month period only 30 per cent of the planned quantity of coal is attracted from Valias and Memaliaj mines, extracting coal for consumption of the population. In order to come out of the difficult situation offers have been sent to purchase transformers in Italy, Greece and some other countries. The loading and unloading of 70,000 tones of coal from Greece has been going for some days now in exchange of electric energy. Likewise, efforts are continuing with firms and other countries to ensure the necessary coal to meet the demands of the population.

Military Security Zone With Turkey Planned

AU2012183991 Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Turkey will set up a military security zone extending 60 to 80 km at the most on both sides of their common border.

Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian General Staff, and his Turkish counterpart, Army General Dogan Gures, approved a joint document today on complementary confidence and security building measures and military contacts. The document is an important step forward by which the two countries are exceeding the confidence-building measures envisaged by the Vienna and the Paris accords. Bulgaria and Turkey have already informed the NATO member states whose foreign ministers are attending a meeting which opened in Brussels today of this document.

The document envisages an exchange of one inspection and two "visits for assessing the territory" more than under the Vienna accords. This refers to the zone between Burgas, Strandzha, Boyadzhik, and Rogozinovo on the Bulgarian side, and Bolekgoluk, Turgutbei, Tozakli and Kiykoy (in eastern Thrace) on the Turkish side.

The two countries undertake the commitment to notify each other [passage indistinct] held once or more times a year.

The Sofia document will come in force on January 1, 1992.

Assembly Supports EC Stance on Yugoslavia

AU2012185591 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Parliament supported the position of the Bulgarian Government on the EC declaration on Yugoslavia. The Bulgarian parliament shares the view that each republic has the right to determine its own status if it wishes to do so. The necessary conditions for this are the freely expressed will its people, respect for human and ethnic rights and renouncement of any territorial claims on neighbouring countries, it is said in a statement for the press made by the chairman of the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden announced in Stockholm that the Swedish Government would grant six million kronor (over one million dollars) for the needs of the Bulgarian power industry as a response to Sofia's request for financial aid to secure electricity imports. [passage omitted]

Arsenal Strike Ends; Government Decision Reached

AU2012152691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] At a rally held this afternoon, strikers from Podkrepa Labor Confederation read the decision received from the government that states that the Arsenal Company in Kazanluk will be transformed into a joint stock trading association. Our correspondent reports that the old management is to be dismissed by the company's board of directors within 10 days.

The sit-in at the company's central administrative building has been ended, and the employees who have to prepare the shipping documentation for goods already manufactured are already back at their workplaces. Whether there will be time to ship the goods before the end of the year is anybody's guess, because there are only a few days left.

Wage negotiations are due to begin, but it is not clear how the strikers will receive wages for the period when they were not at work.

KNSB Asks Transport Workers to End Strikes

AU2012200291 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Following today's closed session of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], chaired by Prof. Krustyu Petkov, two statements of positions were issued.

The first concerns the end of the strike in the Burgas Port Complex, in which the KNSB Executive Committee attaches great importance to the fact that the collective must make up the work days lost through the strike and thus compensate for the losses incurred.

The session also discussed in depth the numerous labor disputes in transportation companies throughout the country. The KNSB Executive Committee has no power to stop the strikes declared by the collectives in question, but it appeals to them to end their effective strike actions in connection with the commitment assumed by Transport Minister Aleksandur Aleksandrov to hold talks on Monday 23 December.

Protocol Signed on Kozloduy Plant Reconstruction

AU2012200891 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Kozloduy, December 20 (BTA)—Experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), of the World Association of Nuclear Operators, the National Power Engineering Company, the Committee on Peaceful Atomic Energy Uses and the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant who held technical consultations here signed a joint protocol today. The experts discussed a draft programme for the reconstruction of Generating Units One and Two. It is aimed at increasing the efficiency of the equipment and at ensuring the units' safe exploitation.

A mutually acceptable version of the programme and a schedule for its implementation will be worked out after the Committee on Peaceful Atomic Energy Uses and the IAEA come out with their final views, which is expected next year. The European Community will provide funds for the reconstruction, while the United States will train experts. The two units will work safely until 1995 after they are brought up to international safety standards.

Defense Adviser Interviewed on Military Policy

AU1912205791 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Valentin Aleksandrov, adviser to the Ministry of Defense on military policy and international security, by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Sotirov; place and date not given: "Before the Alter of the Fatherland"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Sotirov] You are adviser to the Ministry of Defense on military policy and international security. What are the main ideas that you will strive to implement in this field?

[Aleksandrov] The main task is to demarcate purely military functions from civil ones in the administration of military structures. This is a difficult problem because, due to the current development in the military administration, all the more important tasks are carried out by regular officers. I believe this is a bad thing, because this deprives the Army of its qualified commanders who, in reality, become military office staff and undertake work that is not directly linked with their main profession. At the same time, it seems to me that it is more advisable for civilians with appropriate higher education qualifications to deal with a number of tasks in the legal, financial, and social spheres.

As a result of this, we are presented with the serious fact that quite a lot of our officers employed in military administration have lost touch with the Army and disqualified themselves as active service commanders. This is particularly dangerous because it does not allow us to rotate cadres and wastes their talents as commanders, the job for which, in fact, they have trained for so long.

[Sotirov] How do you envisage the position of officers in society? Will the time come when the officer will enjoy the authority he is due?

[Aleksandrov] This is the most tricky problem that I have come up against in my new job. During my placement after university, I lived for almost three years in a small garrison town, and because I ate in the officers' mess I succeeded in convincing myself firsthand of the hardships and difficult conditions under which these young men, who had dedicated their youth to serving their homeland, lived. I found out by hearsay of the injustices that occurred in the Military Academy's competitions, especially in connection with sending nonmatriculate students to the Soviet military academies. The role subjectivity played in officer career appointments made a bad impression on me. Now I am taken aback by the severity of the insoluble housing problem, the difficulties officers' spouses have in pursuing their careers, and the deprivations that officers' children have to endure because their fathers serve Bulgaria....

The totalitarian system damaged many structures in Bulgarian society, but I am becoming increasingly convinced that the officer corps is one of its greatest victims. This situation must be completely eradicated once and for all. I am afraid that the serious economic crisis that we are in will slow down the resolution of some of these questions.

In a number of European countries, the officer class ranks immediately after the legal profession, which is at the top of the pyramid, whereas in Bulgaria this most worthy of professions is almost at the level of minimum subsistence. This is an intolerable state of affairs, and I am determined to change things for the better; however, I reiterate I am pessimistic about how long this task will take. However, I categorically want to assure the reader of BULGARSKA ARMIYA of one thing: The possible is being done, and the impossible will also be done!

In the course of its development the Bulgarian Army has lived through more difficult times than this, but precisely at these times the tireless Bulgarian military spirit and perseverance tipped the balance of history!

Private Radio Companies Demand Air Time

AU2012192291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Dec 91 p 2

[Kristina Patrashkova report]

[Text] Unless the private radio stations get the official green light to broadcast within three months, they will start transmissions themselves, beginning with transmissions for 12 hours a day, and then broadcasting until they drop from exhaustion. This became known at a news conference given by the Private Radio Broadcasting Association on 16 December.

The Committee on Communications and Information Science is willing to allocate three frequencies to radio stations in Sofia and other frequencies for a further 10 towns throughout the country. Stefan Sofiyanski, the committee's chairman, stated that interim criteria have already been prepared for issuing and canceling permits to use frequencies and regulations for private radio equipment and tables of licensing fees. Until the law on radio and television is adopted, private radio would have to be supervised by a provisional committee of five persons, whose names remain secret for the time being.

Only about a dozen candidates remain of the 60 or so applications for private radio permits submitted during the summer. The most serious applications are those of "Radio 99," "Radio Tangra," "Kanal Kom-Plovdiv," and "FM Plus." According to the explanations submitted by the applicants, these will be commercial radio stations transmitting music, and they will be self-financed.

Asked who had been obstructing the private radio stations so far, Petur Punchev of "Radio 99" replied: "Political forces that were afraid of being forestalled by their rivals. Unfortunately, they will continue in the future to hide behind foreigners' skirts."

Dienstbier Welcomes Creation of CIS in Alma-Ata

LD2212200591 Prague CSTK in English 1859 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 22 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister today welcomed the creation by former Soviet republics in Alma-Ata on Saturday of an eleven-member Commonwealth of Independent States. [CIS]

"It is good an agreement has been reached", Dienstbier said and praised Russia's taking over sucession to the Soviet Union in international organisations.

The Czechoslovak Embassay in the Soviet Union will soon be converted into an embassy in Russia and Czechoslovakia will try to establish diplomatic ties with the other republics, too, Dienstbier said.

Czech Delegation Offers SFRY Mediation

LD2212223291 Prague CSTK in English 1912 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 22 (CSTK)—At a meeting with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic here today, a delegation of the Czech parliament offered to mediate a dialogue between Serbia and Croatia. Giving a press conference at the end of his day-long working visit at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Jovanovic said Yugoslavia will be preserved even if the independence of Croatia and Slovenia is recognised by the international community.

Jovanovic said Serbia's leaders are not seeking the establishment of a "grand Serbia" and will not strive for international recognition within the present borders. "Serbia is neither an independent nor a sovereign republic. It donated its sovereignty to Yugoslavia in 1918", Jovanovic said. According to him, recognition of Croatia and Slovenia cannot bring about a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict.

Dienstiber said the recognition of Croatia's and Slovenia's independence "would only isolate the conflict", and stressed the necessity for a coordinated action by the international community in solving the issue. Earlier today, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said Czechoslovakia—in concert with the European Community, Poland, Hungary and other countries—will recognise on January 15, 1992, independent republics of Yugoslavia if they respect borders and the rights of national minorities.

Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, who held talks with Jovanovic, said there are opportunities for Czechoslovak-Serbian cooperation especially in the energy area. In 1990, Serbia was Czechoslovakia's biggest trade partner among Yugoslav republics.

Finance Minister Addresses Assembly on Budget

LD2012175691 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Report by station correspondent Stanislav Benda from the Federal Assembly building in Prague]

[Excerpts] In the presence of many members of the Federal Government, the Federal Assembly started to discuss the federal budget for next year. [passage omitted] The deputies first did not approve a recommendation by Czechoslovak Television that the Assembly session be broadcast in a direct relay, although naturally the Assembly has no right to decide about a broadcast. You will have the opportunity to watch it all from a recording in the evening television bulletin.

Then Vaclav Klaus took the floor. He said that he was going to read the most important document of the year. He stressed that the government is not interested in affecting society with orders, bans, and recommendations, but by financing it in keeping with what we have money for and what we do not. In the process of transforming our economy, there is a decline in the scale of the economic activities. A single increase in prices accompanied by an increase of profits created almost a painless transfer in the second year of the transformation of economy. Foreign trade was equally favorable. However there is a problem: It is very difficult to create a well balanced state budget. The state budget means a massive redistribution of funds among citizens. As Vaclav Klaus said, this concerns each of us. The main direction in which money has been shifted so far has been between republics and for social reasons. Money was shifted between consumption and investment which, however, attracted less attention.

The transfers between republics and the entire philosophy of drafting the budget were based on the permanent functions of the Federation, the reinforcement of individual budgets and the civic apparatus, which justifies and explains certain shifts between the republics. In the words of Vaclav Klaus, as an emergency measure, single subsidies to republics must be given from the budget of the Federation to the value of 3.3 billion korunas for the Czech Republic and 1.7 billion korunas for the Slovak Republic. For the first time, this budget represents greater expenditures per person in the Czech than in the Slovak Republic.

The transformation of the economy requires, Vaclav Klaus continued, an increase in social expenditure, although it neither speeds up the change of the economy nor creates new jobs. After November 1989, social care was far too general and expensive. The new budget, therefore, is oriented more toward citizens in need.

In the draft budget for 1992 the expenses of social benefit—that is social expenditure—are increasing from 51.9 percent to 55.1 percent. The speed of growth within social expenditure is proposed to be 11.1 percent as compared to the adjusted budget of this year. The rest of the expenditure has

been growing only by 4.6 percent. In the words of Vaclav Klaus, the growth is actually negative.

The government considers it necessary to operate from the very beginning of the year according to the approved budget. A provisional budget would mean negative signals not only at home but also abroad. In addition, if the budget of the republics were approved, there would be a danger of lack of trust in the federal bodies. The government also considers it important to adopt a budget that is balanced and that will lead to self-control and necessary savings. We in no way want to burden the future with payments of debts as a result of the current possible deficit. Experience from abroad shows that a deficit loosens the financial and investment ethics and expands inflation. The resulting fact of a deficit would be negative in every case, said Vaclav Klaus.

Klaus Interviewed on Budget

LD2312094291 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Interview with Vaclav Klaus, CSFR finance minister and deputy prime minister, by correspondent Jan Kulhavy; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kulhavy] Minister, we should perhaps not personalize the draft budget. I should not, therefore, ask you whether you personally are satisfied but rather whether the Federal Government is satisfied with its approval?

[Klaus] The government had a great deal of problems with the budget. Regrettably, at the beginning, all attention was focused for two months on a relatively small section of the budget, that is on the issue of the interrepublican transfer of money. Although the sum is only a small fraction of the total—one or two percent of the budget—all attention was centered on it, and therefore those remaining 98 percent somewhat escaped attention. When the talks held in Bratislava finally provided the basic directions for resolving this seemingly small detail, the whole attention afterwards concentrated on the main matters. Drafting the budget was a superhuman effort because it was a difficult one. It was a difficult matter, at a time when economic development is having a rather downward trend, and it was, therefore, very difficult to draw up the budget. [passage omitted]

[Kulhavy] The debate itself and the voting on draft amendmends went unexpectedly smoothly. A far more difficult process was expected here in the parliament. Despite this, it was shown during the final voting that three votes were needed in the Chamber of Nations from the Slovak section and the outcome could have been reversed. Why do you think this mistrust on the part of Slovak deputies persists?

[Klaus] I do not know whether it can be said that such a mistrust persists specifically among Slovak deputies. Mistrust persists among deputies of a certain political color. I would not like to divide them into Czechs and Slovaks. I am glad that the outcome was as it happened to have been ... it would be a mistake if we politicized certain wholly fundamental matters in our economic decision making and economic life. Privatization must simply not become a political matter. Privatization must not, for instance, become a conflict between republics. These are matters that are a joint problem for all of us. It would, therefore, be a good thing if the budget did not become politicized. During voting, I was looking around the chamber, and I believe that a number of Clubs of Deputies on the other side of the political spectrum voted constructively for the budget.

[Kulhavy] Nonetheless, I shall return once again to one political issue. Shortly after the new budget was approved, I heard a view in the lobby that the federation has been maintained without the need of constitutional safeguards. Can we fully appreciate, at this point of time, the political impact of the budget?

[Klaus] I would say that the budget has contributed to a certain stabilization of the constitutional debates. Approvals of it by the Slovak National Council, the Czech National Council, and by the Federal Assembly have made their contribution. I would like to say, in particular, that this was a positive impulse. A negative impulse, had not the budget been approved by chance, would have sounded a danger. At that moment, I feared the Federal Assembly, because had the Federal Assembly failed to pass this political test, then, in both republics—for it would be a mistake to single out Slovakia alone—the thinking might have emerged that since the Federal bodies are unable to cope, what is to be done with them. Thus, had the budget not been approved, this would have sent a very negative signal indeed. [passage omitted]

Federal Assembly Passes 'Transformation Bill'

LD2212223591 Prague CSTK in English 1646 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament passsed last night a "transformation bill" which paves the way for making cooperatives into organisations of real owners.

The draft for the bill was subject to lengthy and heated debates in the Federal parliament as its economic committees tried to push through changes in the govenment bill which would benefit original owners of land and of the farm and outbuildings.

After the Communist seizure of power in February 1948, land and other farming property was nationalised and farming cooperatives were forcibly founded. The final reading of the law is a compromise between the government bill and proposals by the Economic Committees.

Cooperatives will be transformed according to transformation projects approved by the Cooperatives' General Assembly which will consist not only of cooperative

members, but also original owners of land, buildings, etc. Adjustment of property relations and settlement of property claims in cooperatives will be supervised by a transformation council elected by all members of the respective cooperative.

While the government bill proposed an equality of votes, the Economic Committees wanted the weight of votes to depend on the share in the cooperative's property. The passed law does not contain any provision concerning the weight of votes. This was regretted by Czech Agriculture Minister Bohumil Kubat who told CSTK this will undoubtedly necessitate amending the law. Kubat, who supported the Economic Committes' proposals, said the implementation of the law will be very complicated which, in his view, will force the parliament to return to it in two or three months.

The law also states criteria for the division of cooperative property: 50 per cent according to the land transferred to the cooperative, 30 per cent according to other real estate, and 20 per cent according to work done by cooperative members.

Not included in the law was the proposal by Deputy Josef Lux, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) to exempt from the law the property seized after February 1948 to churches, holy orders, congregations and religious communities which is now held by cooperatives.

The law was rejected by an overwhelming majority of leftist parties: the Communist Party for Bohemia and Moravia (KCSM), Slovakia's Party for the Democratic Left (SDL - Former Communists), the self-governing Democary Movement - Society for Moravia and Silesia II (HSD-SMS), the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of former Slovak Premier Vladimir Mecir, and deputies from the Social-Democratic Orientation Club.

The 19th joint session of the House of Nations and the House of the People of the Federal parliament ended with the adoption of the Transformation Law. The next, 20th session is to open on January 20, 1992.

Calfa Interviewed

LD2312100491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1850 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] The number one issue, number one problem in our country, is deliberations at the parliament. These days, a so-called transformation bill is being discussed. Certain government criticism has been voiced lately there for giving up without a struggle some proposals and accepting proposals put forward by deputies' initiative group—thus, in some deputies' view, the government showed that it had not prepared its draft of this bill well enough. I would be interested in your view of such criticism and also in the results of the government's session last night—specifically how much the government will yield as far as the disputed points are concerned.

[Calfa] I would like to put this right. The government put forward a certain concept of the transformation law—transformation of cooperatives, all kinds of cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives as well as production, consumers, and accommodation cooperatives—into something qualitatively different. The government's concept was based on the idea that cooperatives can be transformed from within—through implementation of democracy within cooperatives, through the cooperatives' elected bodies that were elected last year according to the law adopted by the Federal Assembly.

On the other hand, the Federal Assembly reached the conclusion that, according to deputies' experience, it is not sure that a real qualitative transformation will take place in this way, as very strong links were created in villages in the course of time, and because of the existence of power structures in cooperatives, as the same people are in high posts. [passage omitted]

That is why deputies amended the bill by adding a number of measures aimed at securing the transformation of cooperatives in harmony with the experiences known to the parliament. A very wide consensus of political parties, above all government political parties, was reached in the parliament on this issue. Of course, the government—we are, after all, members of those political groups—respected this consensus. [passage omitted]

On principle, all of us are looking for some solution, and if we reach the conclusion that this is the solution how to qualitatively transform the cooperatives—as we wish to qualitatively transform cooperatives—then such a solution is acceptable for us.

[Correspondent] Now, to another very important question that concerns the current debate on next year's budget in the parliaments. Many objections have been raised by deputies that a balanced budget is being secured by way of marked cuts in social expenditure. This is also seen by the fact that amendments have been proposed to those very laws concerning social issues. Is this really so?

[Calfa] You see, one can hardly talk about marked cuts in the social sphere. We have reached the view that the way the whole social security system, which has in fact been inherited, has been based does not correspond to the possibilities of our economy. This was the first conclusion. The second conclusion was that we ourselves have helped to make this possible, and this is, in fact, a criticism aimed at our own ranks, when in anticipating social uncertainties, in view of changes in our economy, we have in effect created a social net right across the board. It has now been shown that the social net helps people to such an extent that it does not motivate them

to seek work. The entire net is simply sufficient, and it involves huge expenditure that means that those who are in work are having to pay to those who are out of work and the worst category are those who do not want to work.

Therefore, as far as social cuts are concerned, the government paid attention to separating those who are in a real need of social assistance from those who we think do not need it, or for whom social assistance is too large. These two views have been combined into a single view, and this really means a very strong reduction in the existing social expenditure. I do not, however, believe that this amounts to taking away from people. I would say that this is a reduction in the direction of a greater social justice.

[Correspondent] One more question. It has been said that certain calculations have been made regarding budgetary revenues and that the manner in which these calculation have been made is not the best. For instance, that within the framework of withdrawing credits a larger amount of money is expected from abroad. Withdrawing is one thing but what is your view that we shall really acquire such money?

[Calfa] There is such money abroad. We know of it and have been carrying out a number operations to release such money. It is, however, in places from which it can been released only with difficulties. Our thinking that such money could be at our disposal proceeds from our sum of knowledge of the steps we have taken to release it. I believe that it is realistic to think that such money will come back to Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Army Leaders Brief Press on Reorganization

AU2312103191 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Dec 91 p 3

[Peter Kuchar report: "Slovakia Does Not Have Airports"]

[Text] Bratislava—A presidential order was announced yesterday, appointing Lieutenant General Vaclav Groman commanding officer of the Military Command West and Lieutenant General Jozef Tuchyna commanding officer of the Military Command East as of 1 January, and Lieutenant General Frantisek Podesva commanding officer of the Military Command Center as of 1 March. The new organization of the Army replaces the current two military districts and returns to three territorial organizational components, a model that "proved" itself during the First Republic [1918-1938].

Apart from this news, the redeployment of the Army was the most discussed item at yesterday's news conference given by the Defense Ministry and the Eastern Military District. Lieutenant General Karel Holub, deputy Army chief of staff, pointed out that the transformation of the combined-arms formations from training to combat units means a qualitative change in the role of the Army in Slovakia. The units in Slovak territory are currently 60 to 65 percent complete, and in April they will be reinforced to between 69 and 76 percent of full strength.

The troops in Slovakia have been reequipped and the tank division now has at its disposal modern T-72 tanks, and the mechanized division is equipped with combat personnel carriers of types 1 and 2. Territorial defense task groups will be formed at all three commands by 1 October 1992. In Slovakia, they will be organized in two brigades at the strength of four regular and one mountain regiments. They will be armed with light infantry weapons. It is expected that they would be used, for instance, in the protection of facilities. It is important that their full organizational use should be initialed only in the event of war.

Commenting on the months-long debated issue of the withdrawal of the Air Force from Slovak territory to Bohemia, General Holub pointed out that no airports suitable for combat airplanes exist in Slovakia. At this time, there are 18 MiG 21 and four L-39 airplanes. This number, combined with the Air Force assigned to the Command Center (Moravia) is adequate for the defense of Slovak air space. According to General Holub, it would be possible for the Army to increase the number of its combat helicopters if there were money for their purchase. It is expected, however, that in the framework of the redeployment a helicopter squadron would be located in Trencin.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 18 December on page 3 in a similar report adds that the command appointments are temporary and "according to Defense Minister Dobrovsky, their temporariness is linked to the results of screening"].

New Commonwealth Seen as 'Reassuring'

LD2212083791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] The political state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry considers it reassuring and at the same time, from many viewpoints, potentially unpredictable that 11 former Soviet republics have set up the Commonwealth of Independent States. According to Tamas Katona, the Alma-Ata agreement creates the possibilities for a peaceful but by no means easy transition. Since the summer of last year Hungarian foreign policy has been preparing methodically for these changes, so yesterday's decision was not unexpected. The state secretariat has received authorization from the government to make arrangements with the new states about the eventual establishment of diplomatic relations. The state secretary would consider it right if the Soviet Union's Security Council membership were to be inherited by Russia, because in this way unforeseeable disputes could be prevented.

Spokesman on Recognition of Yugoslav Republics

LD2012120791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpt] At the beginning of our detailed reports, let us hear Gabor Bankuti reporting from the government spokesman's international press briefing:

[Bankuti] If, on 15 January a significant group of EC countries, together with other European countries, recognize the independence of Yugoslav republics which have requested recognition and which meet the Community's conditions, then Hungary is also ready to do so—that is, if those republics recognize the Helsinki principles, the Paris Charter, the inviolability of borders, and minority rights. Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo added that the Visegrad three will coordinate the decision.

Slovak Premier Carnogursky, as the federal commissioner of the Boes power station project, sent a letter bearing the character of an ultimatum, to his Hungarian counterpart, Ferenc Madl, and he said that although they accept the forming of a group of international experts, nevertheless they can only accept a solution which guarantees the completion and puts the Boes power station into operation. The Czechoslovak party states that they are to continue working on putting the project into operation, although not in the bed of the Danube until June.

On receiving the letter, Jozsef Antall is to write a letter to Federal Premier Marian Calfa, and Gyorgy Szabad is to send a reply to President Alexandr Dubcek. The letters are to be handed over sometime today to the Czech and Slovak ambassadors. [passage omitted]

Antall Warns CSFR in Letter on Boes Dam

LD2012204391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Here are the latest developments in Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations in view of the Boes power station. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall sees a constantly decreasing chance for the creation of a Hungarian-Czechoslovak expert committee vis-a-vis Boes-Nagymaros and for joint decisionmaking as on the other side unilateral and illegal construction works are being carried out. The prime minister emphasized this in his letter of reply addressed to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa after Jan Carnogursky informed him on 18 December of the Hungarian Government's intention to put the Boes dam into operation. According to Jozsef Antall, the results of expert surveys should be awaited first instead of exerting pressure on the experts by creating the appearance of irreversibility with such a measure which hastens completion. The Hungarian prime minister hopes that the two countries do find a means of solution because, unless they do, Hungary expects the breaking of negotiations and prepares for the necessary countermeasures.

Violation of Serbian Airspace Denied

LD2212223891 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—The allegation of the TANJUG news agency that Croatian agricultural planes arriving from Hungary violated the air space of Serbia at 9 p.m. on Saturday lacks any foundation, Hungarian Frontier Guard spokesman Janos Zubek told MTI on Sunday.

According to the spokesman, the Yugoslavian news agency tried to turn against Hungary an information disclosed by the Hungarian Ministry of Home Affairs on December 16. At that time, the Ministry informed the Hungarian and international public that the Croatian National Guard of Virovitica had ten AN-2 type, unarmed agricultural planes which they said would regularly fly within the 10-kilometre neutral air corridor along the Hungarian border. Balazs Novaki, chairman of the Hungarian section of the joint Hungarian-Yugoslavian Border Committee, informed his counterpart in Belgrade on the Guardsmen's plan on the same day. Since then, the Croatian Guard of Virovitica has not notified the Hungarian authorities on any flight. According to the information available for the Hungarian frontier guard, Croatian planes have not violated Hungary's air space, Zubek said.

Assassination Attempt on Turkish Envoy Reported

Official Expresses 'Shock'

LD2012220691 Budapest MTI in English 1623 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 20 (MTI)—Shock and grief were expressed by Hungarian Foreign Ministry State Secretary Tamas Katona today over the assassination attempt committed against Turkish Ambassador to Budapest Bedrettin Tunabas.

Katona phoned Tunabas on behalf of the government and the foreign minister, who is currently abroad.

Hungarian authorities will take all the necessary steps to protect the Turkish mission here and to arrest the assassin, Katona told Tunabas.

As reported earlier, six shots were fired at the Turkish ambassador near his residence in Budapest Thursday evening. The diplomat was not injured. An Armenian organization called "Secret Army for Armenian Liberation" claimed responsibility for the act today.

Turkey Summons Hungarian Envoy

LD2012221491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] There is an increased state of alert on the Hungarian borders because they are still looking for the person behind the assassination attempt against the Turkish ambassador.

Turkey has condemned the assassination attempt against its ambassador in Budapest, which according to an anonymous telephone caller, was carried out by an Armenian terrorist organization, the Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia—ASALA. According to news from Ankara, the Hungarian ambassador has been summoned to the Turkish Foreign Ministry in order to clarify details of the terrorist act.

Interpol has also joined in the investigation of the assassination attempt carried out against the Turkish ambassador in Budapest. The international criminal investigation organization set to work after the Hungarian report.

At home, the competent organs will take all necessary measures for the protection of the Turkish mission and in order to find the perpetrator. For this reason, increased checks are being carried out at the Hungarian border. All that is known about the perpetrator is that he is around 170 cm tall and has a black moustache.

Russian Jewish Emigrants Attacked at Airport

LD2312110191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1025 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Statement by Hungarian Interior Minister Peter Boross to the National Assembly in Budapest on 23 December—live]

[Text] Esteemed house, I feel it is my duty to inform you of a sad and shocking event which took place at 0940. A terrorist attack was carried out at Ferihegy airport against a bus delivering Russian Jewish emigrants to Israel while the bus was still in motion. The explosive material had been placed on the outside, and presumably was exploded by remote control. The accompanying police car was burned and two policemen were seriously injured. Four of the bus passengers were injured but I do not know to what degree. I feel the esteemed house will receive with understanding all those measures, also regarding surveillance of foreigners, which following this it is my obligation to carry out, so that such shameful events in Hungary—the second now in the space of a few days—should not occur again. Thank you very much for your attention.

Tightening of Security Planned

LD2312140391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] The interior minister [Peter Boruss] reported to the National Assembly today on the terrorist bomb attack. He stated that a tightening of border security regulations can be expected. The interior minister was interviewed by Kata Peli-Nagy.

[Begin recording] [Peli-Nagy] Mr. Minister, about half an hour ago you informed parliament about an attack against Jewish Soviet citizens stopping in our country and intending to travel onward. I believe you also indicated that effective measures will be taken to ensure such things will not happen again.

[Boross] If we could take measures to ensure such things never happen we would be in a more comfortable position. What I can promise is that we will do everything possible to ensure that this terrorist act, the second within a few days, does not become a trend, and that such atrocities, which beyond the personal tragedies also endanger the internal order of a country, cease.

[Peli-Nagy] Does this mean you will tighten regulations on entry into the country, permission to stay, and perhaps controls at Ferihegy Airport?

[Boross] We have already taken steps, which I think the majority of the country understands, in the interest of controlling certain irregularities in entering the country, but this is something different. In this situation we have to react; including increasing security controls over foreigners, and increasing supervision and controls over all those circles that might potentially be inclined to such intentions.

[Peli-Nagy] Who could these be?

[Boross] We receive information from our own antiterrorist activities and from international connections. This information is useful in preventing a number of acts. I do not know whether on this occasion we had any preliminary indications, and the time has been so short I have not yet had the opportunity to have discussions with police and national security leaders. Such acts must be avenged, and international cooperation certainly provides much help. I hope it will do so in this case as well. An extremely extensive search has been launched to find those who committed this act. I am confident of its success. [end recording]

Assembly Speaker Announces Emergency Sessions

LD2112214191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1207 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Press briefing given by Hungarian National Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad at the National Assembly building in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Szabad] My dear friends, you have received the proposal for holding two National Assembly emergency sessions—one between 21-23 December, the other 28-30 December. One is a detailed agenda proposal, the other is an advance, long term plan proposal. [passage omitted]

The proposal, in terms of demands posed on the National Assembly, its functionaries, all its members, and its apparatus is maximalist—I dare say that. However, this maximalism is not self-serving but is needed in order for the Hungarian Republic to have a budget on 2 January 1992 on the basis of which it can work. According to our plans we would like the draft budget to be adopted on 30 December 1991. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] I would like to ask Mr. Speaker whether information exists that if the National Assembly does not adopt the 1992 budget—which is not likely—has the government, to your knowledge, prepared perhaps a draft bill which it could submit immediately instead of the potentially rejected 1992 Budget law?

[Szabad] I suggest that this question should be asked at the government's press briefing. I can only say that this issue was raised in the House Rules Committee where the attending government official responsible said that they will take the necessary steps under any circumstances. [passage omitted]

[Cporrespondent] When will the emergency session continue in the new year? Will there be a pause between the emergency session and the regular session? [passage omitted]

[Szabad] [passage omitted] If by 31 December the country has an enacted budget and the related law has also been adopted then the emergency session will continue in mid-January—according to our plans—with the National Assembly committees resuming work on the 15th, while the first plenary session will take place on the 20th. [passage omitted]

Fur Stresses Quick Technical Improvements

LD2012220891 Budapest MTI in English 1952 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 20 (MTI)—With Hungary's vulnerable defence position now evident after the Yugoslavian events, there is a pressing need to update the country's military, said Defence Minister Lajos Fur, acting president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, in his key-note address to a conference in Zalaegerszeg today.

"We have 90 military planes, obsolete for the most part, instead of the required 180" said the acting president of the Hungarian democratic forum. "It is also imperative to modernize air defence, anti-tank equipment and the radar system. A professional army can only be set up afterwards."

With reference to his Moscow and Kiev talks, Fur said, "within the new system of foreign relations, the other main pillar of national security, Hungarian military diplomacy has set the aim of concluding bilateral cooperation agreements with every European state. These, however, will never be directed against a third country."

Anti-Terrorist Unit Set Up at Nuclear Plant

AU2012154791 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 91 p 9

["H.B.J."-signed report: "Neutron Commando at Paks"]

[Text] As we have already reported, an anti-terror commando unit is being set up at Paks to protect the nuclear power station.

In the meantime, the unit has already been given its name: The Neutron Elimination Unit, and its members are now being selected in Paks. The commandos will belong to the county police headquarters, but most of their expenses will be covered by the Nuclear Power Station in Paks.

No terrorist attack has ever been carried out against a nuclear power station anywhere in the world. However, the officials in Paks thought it was important to organize the protection of this nuclear power plant.

The staff is being selected on the basis of tenders, and the unit has already passed the first medical screening tests, which were so tough that the large number of volunteers was reduced considerably.

According to Attila Berta, commander of the county's police headquarters, only 26 were left of 64 volunteers after the second medical screening test carried out in Budapest. These people will be appointed on 1 February 1992 and their training will commence on this day. In the meantime, they will pass another special medical test in January 1992. The neutron commando unit will be operational in the last quarter of 1992.

Olszewski Addresses Sejm, Submits New Cabinet

LD2112195591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1408 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski to the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] I am fully aware of the great importance of this moment, as I stand here before the first freely elected Sejm of the Third Republic—the first free Polish Sejm after more than half a century. I am standing here to present the first government that this Sejm will be empowered to appoint.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The Polish nation has distinguished itself by its strong sense of its place in history. After 1945, efforts were made to deprive us of this feeling. The rebuilding of this awareness, of the historical awareness of our place at the present moment in the long history of our national past, is one of the great and immeasurable—in any known currency—tasks that face today's Poles.

Let us, therefore, try to answer, if only in a few words, the question of when—at what moment and under what circumstances—I am standing before you, ladies and gentlemen deputies. This is happening almost 10 years to the day after the imposition of martial law in Poland. How tremendously we have changed our country since those days. It is enough for us to remember that, 10 years ago, many of those present here among us were behind bars.

How very much Europe has changed in that time. To the west of us—beyond an open frontier—stretches the vast area of the twelve countries of the EC. To the east, the remains of the communist empire are falling apart, and new states are appearing. A murderous, totalitarian ideology has crashed to the ground, the second one to do so this century.

Today we sit between two worlds: The West, which develops peacefully and unifies; and the East, which is collapsing. We are not yet a member of the former, but already have been in the latter. We have made the decision to join the Western structure, but at the moment we do not have any alliances, anchorage, or security. We must make the effort to change this precarious state.

The Polish state today, however, is threatened, above all, from within. It is threatened by the results of many years of foreign domination, the consequences of the presence here for many years of a system alien to this nation and imposed on us. It is also the consequence of the fatal results of martial law, which still continue, and of those many years of ruthless and wasteful exploitation of national assets after 1981. Those who praise the magnanimity and common sense of PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] representatives who sat down at the round table ought to realize that the communists handed over a ruined country to the Solidarity camp, one which it was no longer possible to manage. [applause]

Today, our state is threatened with paralysis resulting from administrative chaos and the inability today to carry out fundamental tasks. Our economy, transformed by an unsure hand from a centralist to a market system, sustained a severe collapse midstream. We are threatened with its further collapse, and the developing antipathy of the citizens is particularly dangerous, as is their loss of a feeling of responsibility for Poland. Public patience, so appropriately commended, is changing into hopelessness.

Esteemed Chamber, that is the situation today. To get out of it as quickly as possible, we must remobilize forces and, above all, indicate what kind of Poland we are striving for. We want a Poland that gives all citizens both a chance and a hope, one in which the civilization gulf between the town and countryside disappears, one whose citizens are able to freely choose their place of work and residence, a Poland from which young people are not going to have to emigrate, as they can find here, in their homeland, the chance for a start in life. [applause]

We want a market economy that will work within a strictly drawn legal framework and within which Christian values of family and other human groups will also be protected. In doing this, we want to take advantage of the experiences of the great European democracies that rebuilt their countries after World War II. We are working toward a Poland that would be a member-state of the EC with full rights. This will tie our democracy to others; give our country security and economic cooperation; open up possibilities for prosperity at all levels of society; and incorporate our country into the most powerful economic body in the world.

We are working toward a Poland that will be open to the East, that will be renewing her political role in this part of Europe. This vision for the future of Poland—which we must present to the nation clearly and concretely—is not my private invention nor that of the government; it is our reading of the citizens' desires, expressed in the results of consecutive elections during the last two and a half years.

We have no illusions; the road will be difficult and certainly not short. This government, however, wishes to be a government of hope, but not one built on promises. It wishes to be a government of hope built on sincerity, down-to-earth honesty, and a sense of universal participation by the whole nation in the common goal.

I must make a point here. The basic tasks of a government, of any government, are three-fold: The government should set out the desires of the citizens—expressed in elections—in a uniform and clear-cut vision of the future; the government has the duty of formulating and making public both the methods and the costs of implementing such a vision; and it is also the duty of the government to create the right conditions in which the goals—which have been adopted and presented to the

nation—can be implemented. The government will be able to fulfill its basic tasks only by cooperating with other bodies of state authority.

A year ago, in a general election, we chose the president of the Polish Republic. This was the first stage of a fully democratic establishment of our country's authorities. The elections to the Sejm and the Senate, on 27 October, were the second stage.

The composition of the Sejm mirrors—perhaps gives even a distorted image—of the variety of political stands and viewpoints of today's Poles. I trust—also on the basis of the voting over my candidacy—that despite this variety we will know how to work with each other. The appointment of the government will be the third stage in the construction of new, democratic structures of state. The character and the composition of the proposed government needs to be looked at from the point of view of its role in this process of construction. Our democracy is only taking shape; it is undergoing tests that are difficult for all.

The constitution passed by the communists in 1952 is clearly not relevant to our needs. It creates limits that are inconvenient to the highest degree, for the government as well—limits that have to be changed as soon as possible. But there is one clause in it that, although it was introduced 40 years ago in a cynical manner and for show only, defines the essence of a democratic system: The highest body of the state authority is the Sejm of the Polish Republic, and by you, ladies and gentlemen [applause] we are expecting our democracy to be amended and made more efficient.

May it please the House. Both previous governments were, essentially, temporary ones. I am not saying this as an accusation, but only as a statement of fact. They were temporary because they were based on provisional political bases. Now, after the election, the time has come to depart from this temporary state. This will only be possible when we also break with the temporary nature of our aims. A fundamental change in the style of governing—and to be more precise, in relations between the government and society—is essential for such an opening of horizons. It is not the economic crisis, although it is very severe, that most threatens Poland. At the moment, the greatest threat to our country is the existence in social awareness of an acute division into us and them, into us and the authority. We must rebuild the feeling of bonds with the state that served as a cornerstone for the greatest achievements during the time of the Second Republic from 1918 to 1939.

We must pass from democratic rules to democratic behavior, also in the behavior of the authority. We must not complain about society if the authorities fail to create conditions for the fulfillment of their own decisions. We must not complain that the electoral campaign and the elections themselves are hampering economic reform, if the nation has not had this reform explained or the appropriate legal frameworks have not been created for it. One can govern only very briefly on the basis of a general enthusiasm and trust.

That period has passed, never to return. If we want to maintain a democratic system in Poland, we must convince the public that the burdens of the reforms are spread justly. I repeat justly, as that does not mean equally. It is a only a question of the equivalent of the principle of collective responsibility, correctly condemned, not being applied in economic and public life. The government must, therefore, actively work for understanding, approval, and finally support. It must learn how to govern with the nation and not govern the nation, to daily gain its consent. Only then will it have the right, and be able, to be a strong government.

The government today needs special powers and special rights, and I intend to ask this esteemed chamber to grant them at the appropriate moment. They will, however, be precisely defined powers, in terms of their sphere and duration, powers that will facilitate the speedy execution of decisions on current economic matters and in reorganizing the state apparatus. It will not be an attempt to free itself from parliamentary nor public control.

The outgoing government has presented a report on the condition of the state. We received it a few days ago. We are only going to be able to agree on a government program after carefully familiarizing ourselves with it. Today, out of necessity, I am going to have to restrict myself to presenting its general outline.

Esteemed Chamber, the results of the elections to the Sejm and Senate have demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the people are demanding a change in the way the state is governed. The government wishes to draw conclusions from that. Those who did not vote also want changes; they have lost hope for any change in their existence or have lost faith in the possibility of influencing their fate or that of society. We will also remember them. It is our duty to try to bring about a situation where that majority of the nation, silent today, will also feel a joint responsibility for the Republic.

I know about the growing social tension. I am aware of the enormity of expectations based on real needs. The possibilities of fulfilling them in the near future are minimal. I would like my government, however, to be a government of hope, not by making promises but by demonstrating how we can gradually remove the hurdles, clear the ground, and create a basis for a better tomorrow.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the perspective of two and a half years and the experiences of our neighbors who—later than we did but sometimes in a more decisive fashion—broke with the communist system allow us to state that one of the fundamental reasons for our difficulties is the fact that, for too long, we have adhered to the compromises agreed upon at the round table. [applause]

They were an achievement in their time but, soon after, they became nothing more than a burden. They were like tight clothes that we outgrew in the space of a few months. Today we are sadly aware that much time and many chances have been wasted. Today the nation is expecting an answer from us, a definitive answer to the following question: When will communism come to an end in Poland? I would hope that the appointment of this government by the house will mark the beginning of the end of communism in our homeland. [applause]

Only when we finally tear ourselves away from the communist system will we also regain the possibility of freeing ourselves from the political and moral results of World War II, the possibility to make up for the results of losing our independence. The hopes that kept Poles alive during that war have been betrayed and wrecked. Today, the time has come, at last, to start fulfilling those hopes. It is time to realize that which Poles for more than half a century have fought and died for—at the front, in camps, in prisons, forced deportations, and exile.

The only institution that did not bow to the communist dictate and that, for decades, provided a sanctuary for patriotic activities for independence was the Catholic Church. The Church continued, in that way, the centuries-old tradition of cocreating our national position, fashioning values that have a decisive meaning for the majority of Poles.

The state and the Catholic Church, each in its own field, remain independent and sovereign. They are under the obligation to fully respect these principles in their mutual relations and in their cooperation for the development of man and the common good of our homeland. In the name of this principle, the government will consistently work toward concluding an agreement with the Apostolic See. At the same time, we shall make every effort to ensure equal rights for other churches and religious associations and not allow discrimination against anyone on the basis of religion or world outlook.

Half a century has passed of armed and civilian, open and covert struggles for independence and truth, for the freedom and dignity of man, for the right to one's own beliefs and the right to honesty. This still requires a moral and legal settling of accounts, not only in the name of historical truth but also to counteract the feeling of moral impunity that creates cynicism in some and apathy in others. This half a century was also a time of treason and crime, lies and cruelty. There can be no healthy society without the feeling that just principles are binding on public life. Responsibility and justice, however, cannot start to be binding only as of today; therefore, due not to a desire for revenge but to a moral need, the need to bring up the nation in the spirit of righteousness, there flows a demand to settle accounts for past sins.

We do not want to determine group responsibility, but only the responsibility for concrete decisions by people who, in pursuit of their careers, committed acts against the national interest. These people should not be surprised that they may be punished for their actions. If we are to forgive, we should know for what and whom we are forgiving.

The state administration must be rebuilt in such a way that its structure will conform to new needs. It needs to be put in order and slimmed down, and both the financial and social prestige of state officials must be improved at the same time. People whose pasts disqualify them must leave posts that require the public trust. I am convinced that we have enough people with clean hands and consciences who can serve society and the state in responsible posts.

This also concerns the Polish Armed Forces. The process of their organizational restructuring and ideological rebuilding has, so far, been too slow and inconsequential. It has caused discouragement and the resignations of many idealistic officers. The long-awaited transfer of the Ministry of National Defense to civilian management will allow the Polish Armed Forces to be transformed into an Army upon which both the nation and the authorities of the Polish Republic will be able to rely.

May it please the House. Five days ago, an agreement on the association of Poland with the EC was signed by the Government of the Polish Republic. This is the culmination of the first stage of our state's attempts to enter the structures of unifying Europe, the Europe to which we spiritually belong and which we have been jointly creating for more than 1,000 years. I recall with satisfaction that nearly 16 years ago I was the joint author of the underground Polish Independence Accord program, the first to put forward the demand for Poland's entry into the EC.

The government is going to work for the quick ratification of Poland's association treaty with the EC. That association gives us multifarious advantages, but simultaneously imposes important economic and legal duties on us. The government will concentrate on adapting Polish economic laws to the demands resulting from this association. Adaptive measures will be at the center of our attention. The real participation of Poland in organized cooperation with the Community will depend on the pace, results, and advantages of this cooperation. Cooperation in the political sphere will occupy an increasingly important place in our relations with the Community. The basis for this has been created by the association treaty, and the Community's progress toward a political and defense union will increase the importance of this cooperation.

As a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, Poland will be strengthening links with NATO. In the present situation, we consider that alliance a pillar of European security and the presence of the U.S. Army a factor in that stability. That is why the government will strive for the comprehensive development of (?links) with NATO, facilitated by our participation in the North

Atlantic Cooperation Council. It will be a policy that will favor the improvement of our security.

Esteemed Chamber, the development of the situation to the east means that our relations with the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and the Belarussian Republic are becoming crucial. Both opportunities and dangers are arising for us in the east. The government will continue to strive to build a permanent and comprehensive arrangement of good-neighborly relations and close cooperation. We will continue to develop and intensify the policy of cooperation with our eastern neighbors. We are going to strive to create treaty connections with them to facilitate links in the economic, political, security, and cultural and human areas. At the same time we are open to cooperation.

With the Commonwealth of Independent States, which is now taking shape, and the whole international community, we will strive to ensure that the process of building the independence of the republics of the late USSR takes place in accordance with obligations stemming from agreements on arms control and disarmament and the elimination and nonproliferation of nuclear arms.

Immediately after the referendum on its independence, Poland recognized Ukraine as a state. I must make it clear that Poland also recognizes the statehood of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. This recognition stems from the character of our previously good relations with these states.

The government will undertake further steps with the goal of intensifying relations with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In particular, we wish to remove the difficulties that—through no fault of ours, or at least not mainly through our fault—have emerged in our relations with Lithuania, as a result of its behavior toward Poles who have settled there. We must declare that their behavior in this matter is not in accordance with international standards.

The government will broaden trilateral cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary and play a part in coordinating the stands of the three countries on fundamental matters. The government will implement agreements on the creation of a free trade area. In this way new fields of common initiatives with our partners—with whom we have so much in common—can be created.

The essential task, in terms of relations with our western neighbor, Germany, is to make use of the treaty bases recently created to develop joint interests, mainly economic ones. The government will make full use of the existing solid circumstances for good-neighborliness.

Another important task for Polish foreign policy will be the consistent development of all relations—political, cultural, and primarily economic—with France, Great Britain, Italy, the Scandinavian nations, and other countries in Europe. Regarding relations with the United States, it will be important to retain the present close cooperation and to expand it. It will also be important to increase the flow of American capital to Poland, to facilitate the access of Polish goods and services to the U.S. market, and to gain support for our restructuring processes. We are also counting on the continuing support of the United States in our talks with international financial institutions.

Relations with Arab countries, with the Islamic world, are of great importance to us. But we will also be paying attention to cooperation—and the expansion of that cooperation—with Israel.

We are going to continue to look for new possibilities for cooperation with the states of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, in the economic sphere in particular.

We desire a peaceful settlement to the conflicts both in Yugoslavia and in the Near East. For our part we are going to continue to participate in UN missions and peace operations that serve to resolve conflicts and tension.

The government will undertake efforts to protect the environment and also participate in coordinating international (?action).

Concluding this review of foreign policy, which has been presented in general due to necessity, I would like to mention that we are going to consolidate the links between Poland and the millions of people spread around the world who feel themselves to be Poles at heart. In this sphere, we have much to do behind us, and we are going to try to do this. [sentence as heard] The Polish state has a moral duty to protect the rights of Polish minorities and to secure the interests of these minorities in agreements, in accordance with international standards. It is incumbent on the Polish state to help in regaining Polishness, particularly by spreading knowledge of the Polish language and promoting Polish culture. Due to moral and historical reasons, we place particular importance on helping Poles in the east, particularly in the development of teaching the Polish language and satisfying religious and spiritual needs.

Mr. Speaker, Deputies, unfortunately there is no doubt about the disastrous state of our economy. It also seems to be an indisputable fact that, in the past two years, important mistakes have been made in directing the national economy. According to the four authors of a recent open letter on the economy to the president of the Republic, the economic policy of the last two years was defined in such a way that it has led to the use of internal measures that were not compact, carried out in the old institutional structure. This has yielded results often at variance or quite simply contrary to the intended goals. Several days ago, the Economic Council of the Council of Ministers—which brings together experts with various political views—stated that a specific path for the restructuring of the Polish economy had not yet been chosen and that there was no uniform strategy in actions to date.

I referred to these two opinions as voices of impartial experts, and with the goal of not spending more of the esteemed Sejm's time trying to remind you of and assess estimates that have been repeatedly considered in this hall.

The report on the state of Poland presented by the outgoing government also paints the situation of the national economy in grim colors. As demonstrated in the report, the effects of the budget crisis, overlapping with the decomposition of old, inept structures—in the sphere of health care, for instance—are simply horrifying. The government that is inheriting the state's finances in such a fatal condition will have very little room to maneuver. Within several or a dozen or so months, it will have to undertake, first and foremost, immediate rescue measures. We will, however, strive to tie immediate actions to the introduction of systemic changes. This is where we want to focus our attention.

I would now like to present to you, in general outline, a list of planned actions. Their direct and primary aim is to put a stop to and gradually overcome the recession, while maintaining relative stability, manifested by suppressed inflation, the strengthening of the currency, and market stability, all of which were achieved in the past two years.

To achieve this goal, we will do the following: First, we will put ownership relations in the husbanding of national assets in order. The institution of the State Treasury has to be restored. Its departments will supervise and manage national assets, while at the same time fulfilling the function of an establishing body with regard to state enterprises. State Treasury departments will carry out the role of owner, both in terms of state assets, managed by state enterprises, as well as those assets that have now become the property of companies that have already been privatized.

Second, we will make different forms of ownership of economic activity, in individual and common properties, equal. This will, among other things, mean the balancing of tax burdens of state and private enterprises, taking into consideration differences in size and the specific nature of the conditions in different sectors of economy. We reject the theory of building a healthy economy only on the ruins of state enterprises.

Third, it is necessary today to swiftly elaborate clear ways of helping those businesses that have shown competitive abilities but have been made helpless by obligations that have arisen without their wishing them or bringing them about.

For this group of state businesses, systemic solutions will be worked out that will make adaptation and modernization possible. At the same time, elimination will be speeded up and receivership procedures will be made simpler for businesses that are unproductive and that are increasing losses—that are a burden on all society.

Fourth, we will stimulate the expansion of exports. This will be carried out through the suspension of custom duties, a decrease in the turnover tax imposed on exporters who import materials and raw materials, an expansion of export promotional activities, diplomatic and organizational support for newly created economic chambers of foreign trade, the development of insurance for export transactions, and the creation of special credit lines for exporters.

Fifth, there will be strict control over the influx of money and a gradual lifting of the burden of the tax on wage increases. There will also be a simultaneous control over the price policy of monopolies, especially the so-called natural monopolies.

Sixth, we will introduce new managerial relations. The government will introduce definitive principles for so-called managerial contracts concluded between enterprise directors and departments of the State Treasury. This will concern, in particular, the power-generating industry, the heat-generating industry, and community services. Employees, represented by the trade unions, will also take part in such agreements. This will be a new form of concluding social contracts in enterprises, one which will further the resolution of such difficult problems as remuneration and employment.

Seventh, there will be an essential restraint on budget expenditures, linked on the one hand with increased efficiency in the administration of the budget sphere and on the other with simultaneous activities aimed at increasing the state's revenues. With this goal in mind, the government will begin a radical improvement of the standard of efficiency in the state apparatus responsible for the influx of these revenues. Inefficient organization, inertia, and often ill-will expose the State Treasury and our entire economy to enormous, immeasurable losses. I am thinking here about taxes and custom duties that have not been collected, initiatives that have not been taken, and the partial exploitation of foreign investment possibilities. The government will present a draft law to enable speedy and fundamental changes to be made in the state finance system in the near future.

Eighth, we will draw up general principles of credit policy and create clearinghouses for overdue obligations and interenterprise debts, which will facilitate the liquidation of—or at least the reduction of—so-called financial bottlenecks. It will also be necessary to examine the possibility and conditions for canceling part of the interest payable on investment credits granted to enterprises before 1990. A differentiation of methods of protecting credit and deposits against loss of value resulting from inflation will be introduced. This will help lower the interest rate for investment credits.

Ninth, we will accelerate the modernization and privatization of the banking system and other financial institutions, including insurance.

Tenth, we will work for the reconstruction of economic relations on new bases with states of the former USSR.

The problem of privatization and reprivatization (?will be discussed) separately. Privatization processes must be clearly organized and submitted to more effective control to restrict abuses and the plundering of state property. Privatization cannot continue to be publicly understood as an intervention through which those who already have money gain even more, and those who do not have any money grow poorer. The privatization process ought to be integrated with the current activity of state enterprises, so that privatization becomes financially attractive both for management and workers, according to the following principle: The better you work, the greater the value of the enterprise; the greater the value, the more you will gain for yourselves when privatization takes place, e.g. in the form of employees' shares.

The government will try to present soon to this esteemed chamber the draft laws establishing the sphere and means of reprivatization and of the so-called general privatization. Those laws must gain public acceptance and be based on compromise, taking into consideration the state's difficult state financial situation, compensation for the moral and material wrongs done by the Communists, and the general interest.

Esteemed Chamber, the Polish countryside must be an area of particular concern for the heads of the national economy in the coming years. The government will adopt the principle of treating the problem as a whole—in terms of the needs, expectations, and capabilities of the Polish countryside—not just in terms of agricultural production.

We are aware of the fact that the Polish state will also be obliged to increase its efforts to stabilize economic conditions for agricultural production and to help find new sales markets, especially after the signing of the association agreement with the EC, where agriculture is given strong state support. A long-term goal of the government policy will be to secure multilateral socioeconomic development for the Polish countryside and to bring it closer to the level of West Europe. This is a goal—and we are aware of this—which is a long way off. We will strive toward it by supporting the creation of new workplaces to utilize the overabundance of workers employed directly in agriculture and farming at this time.

The development of a new spirit of enterprise and the availability of new production technology create better prospects for small villages that are today so often sunk in despair. During the past two years government authorities often focused their attention solely on fighting inflation. Other essential activities—the clearing up of ownership relations or the reform of the system of financing welfare benefits—have been neglected. The direct result of this was that the majority of businesses, especially productive enterprises, gave up long-term activities and programs and focused exclusively on survival. At the same time, the national economy—opened up to foreign competition—found itself caught in a dual pincer: technological backwardness and huge debts.

To move away from the tactics of sitting tight and waiting, and to tear ourselves away from the clutches of backwardness and debt, we need to modernize the production techniques we use. This, in turn, requires a new, large investment outlay. The necessity of carving out surpluses for this purpose is decreasing the level of people's incomes, which are low enough already.

It is essential to work out an accord on the principles of sharing the national income, both on the scale of the economy as a whole and within the limits of particular social groups. Within two months, the government will put before Parliament a draft program on economic and social policy for the next two years, which will contain specific proposals on this issue.

The government is firm in its decision to meet Poland's foreign financial obligations. It must, however, draw the attention of international financial institutions to the necessity of renegotiating some of those obligations due to changes in the economic situation of our country.

May it please the House. Economic problems cannot be separated from social ones. We should, however, take up this obvious fact, not only at a time when difficult debates are held on the subject of the division of budget measures between investment needs and expenditure on education. We should take it up in a more general way, asking ourselves the question: What kind of a social and economic model do we decide to follow? What kind of market economy are we going to have?

In democratic states, such questions are asked by political parties and are decided at elections. In our case, it is the government that has to answer this question. First, to tell society how it understands the results of the October elections, and what practical conclusions are drawn from it. My answer is made easy by the already mentioned signing five days ago of an agreement to associate the Polish Republic with the EC. It opens prospects for the construction in Poland of a system that is similar to the one that has been formed in the majority of states belonging to this community. Economy there is simply-...[corrects himself] is not just simply exposed to the elemental nature of the market, but held within a framework of social obligations. The community card of basic social rights has not been officially adopted as binding, but it contains demands characteristic of the prevailing currents in western Europe.

Practical conclusions have been drawn there from a simple statement that those who have money are, thanks to it, stronger. Therefore, to preserve some balance, the law must take care about the representation of those who are on the weaker side in pay and professional disputes. Negotiations procedures have been worked out; they turned out to be very successful, both as far as the defense of employees' interests and the improving the productivity of enterprises are concernend. We must follow those examples. The passing of the amendments to the law on trade unions is indispensable.

The government will endeavor to see that talks with the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity and other trade unions precede the emergence of disputes between the employers and the employees. Bilateral, early-warning commissions will be set up. Social policy must become the policy of anticipation and not reaction; the policy of development and not just (?welfare). The government will support the expansion of state, self-governing, social and private institutions that would support families who are experiencing difficulties in conforming themselves to an economy based on competition. While taking decisions concerning the liquidation or the restructuring of enterprises, we will have to, besides clearly economic premises, also take into consideration social aspects, and most of all, the need to avoid an avalanche of unemployment in locations where other possibilities of finding work do not exist.

Social policy until now has been a string of interventions that were supposed to allieviate the effects of government economic and administrative decisions. It was as if it was a by-product of the social policy. However, the basic duty of a democratic government is to realize citizens' demands and expectations. The negative social effects of the decisions taken should be anticipated and informative measures, [word indistinct] undertaken in time. The government's social policy will be concentrated on restricting the costs of introducing the market economy.

The government is going to aim at information on changes in the labor market, on pay levels, job types preceding the changes themselves, so that employees are given a feeling of the possibility of having a choice and are given time to adapt themselves to new conditions, and to enable public administration employees to prepare themselves for new tasks. And we are going to react to growing unemployment actively by organizing public works on a wide scale and by retraining, linking benefits to specific local conditions.

The government is going to aim to direct investment, particularly foreign investment, to areas most badly affected by unemployment.

Esteemed chamber. The collapse of the budget and the state's inability to carry out the obligations undertaken are at least partly caused by mistakes of the economic policy. No responsible democratic government is permitted to transfer all the consequences of that collapse to society, which not only does not have the possiblity to decide, but which was not even warned about the approaching catastrophe. That is why the government that I am presenting to you will immediately after being appointed begin to draw up, by way of negotiations with the trade unions and other social bodies, an agreement that will define the minimum state (?obligations) in relation to the weakest social groups. That agreement will cover health issues, social benefits and education.

We also know about the catastrophic situation of the health service. However, the remedy of putting the health care on a market basis is unacceptable. We cannot immediately think about introducing private health insurance. However, steps will be taken toward a more rational use of medical staff. Health cannot be economized on, but a more effective expenditure of budget money should be observed. After two years spent in discussions on reform of the health service, we must finally start to carry it into effect.

The education situation is particularly worrying, not only because there is a shortage of money for the functioning of its institutions but, above, all due to the fact that the percentage of youth being educated in Poland is growing smaller and is considerably less than in other European countries.

Almost everything here needs to be changed. First, to make the education and high qualifications worthwhile. Second, to improve the output of the education system and to adapt it to standards of the developed countries. It will be a lengthy procedure, but the sooner we take action, the sooner we will have results.

The legal system, inherited from the Polish Peoples' Republic, was based on the ambiguity of norms and a free interpretation of them. Its fundamental change is indispensable for the effectiveness of economic reform. The lack of such a framework makes it easy for the privileged to get rich at the expense of the state and of its citizens. It causes chaos in the functioning of the administration, it favors the spreading of bribery. Implementing the principle of a legal state is impossible without the fundamental restructuring of the present system. The government is to appoint a special commission within the Legislative Council attached to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, which will present proposals concerning the most indispensable changes in the present legislature within three months.

After last year's elections to self-governing authorities, the promised transfer of a significant part of powers to local and regional self-governments has not taken place. The state administration subdued the grassroots activity and much enthusiasm was wasted. The government wants to look after self-governments, create a wider scope for their activity, be in favor of regionalization, all in close cooperation with the Sejm. [brief applause]

May it please the House! I have presented here in general outline a plan for the prepared activities. Circumstances of the appointment of the government, as well as the state of our economy, make it impossible to work out immediately a more detailed program. However, I would like to stress the principle that will be considered in our work as a superior one. This is a principle of cohesion, complexity. We are intending to depart radically from the practice of the lack of coordination, or even an agreement between departments, especially between the

Ministry of Finance and Social and Welfare Ministries [as heard]. The application of such a principle by previous governments was probably hampered by the fact that they were politically incoherent. The Cabinet which is proposed by me is a government that is both a coalition and supra-political. Its members are people from one great camp; it is an independence camp, a camp of parliamentary democracy. Thanks to that, I hope, it will be easier for us to achieve the above mentioned complexity of actions. The structure of this government should, in a further perspective, undergo fundamental changes. The number of ministries, especially the economic ones will be significantly reduced. Therefore, in ministries meant for liquidation or restructuring, we are not appointing ministers but interim managers of ministries.

Here is the list of the proposed composition of the Council of Ministers. I move that the following appointments be confirmed:

Jerzy Esymontt, minister, head of the Central Planning Office as well as chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers;
Wojciech Wlodarczyk to the post of minister, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers;
Andrzej Stelmachowski to the post of minister of national education;
Karol (Lutkiewicz) to the post of minister of finance;
Andrzej Diakonow will be appointed to the post of interim head of Town and Country Planning and Construction;
Andrzej Sicinski to the post of minister of culture and arts;
Marek Rusin will be appointed to the post of interim head of the Ministry of Communications;
Jan Parys to the post of minister of national Defense;
Stefan (Kozlowski) to the post of minister for environmental protection, natural resources, and forestry;
Jerzy Kropiwnicki to the post of minister of labor and social policy;Tomasz (Gruszewski) to the post of interim head of the Ministry of Ownership Transformations;
Andrzej Lipko to the post of interim head of the Ministry of Industry and Trade;
Gabriel Janowski to the post of minister of agriculture and the food economy;
Zbigniew Dyka to the post of minister of justice;
Antoni Macierewicz to the post of minister of the interior;
Krzysztof Skubiszewski to the post of minister of foreign affairs;
Ewaryst Waligorski to the post of minister of transport and maritime economy;
Adam Glapinski to the post of minister for overseas cooperation;
Marian Myszkiewicz to the post of minister of Health and Social Welfare;
Artur Balazs to the post of minister without Portfolio.
Mr. Speaker, Deputies. In August 1980, our society astounded the world by making a peaceful but unyielding challenge to the communist system. The NSZZ Solidarity has begun the restoration of freedom, both in our homeland and in our part of Europe. Poland then became a pioneer in historic changes. Since then, history has not stopped. Changes are continuing to take place in our closest neighborhood. Recently, the course of events has again been speeded up, leaving us, as it were, on the sidelines. But the fate of freedom and democracy in central Europe still depends on the fate of freedom and democracy in Poland. I am convinced that the best solution for coming out of this current heavy crisis is the return to ideological and political courage. We must take up the challenge of history's rapid advance; we must cope with the glorious traditions of our nation. Aware of our weaknesses and shortcomings, with humility but with the feeling of historic responsibility, we must attempt to live up to the heritage of the most illustrious Polish Republic. [applause]

Walesa Holds News Conference

LD2112185591 Warsaw PAP in English 1807 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Shortly after the expose delivered by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, the president held a press conference with journalists in the Sejm (Lower House).

Asked whether he wants Olszewski's government to succeed Walesa answered: "I want very much the first free Parliament to have a good record on solving Polish problems. My reluctance at one point was caused by the wish to widen the governments base in our country. It did not work out for various reasons and causes many doubts—also in the president."

Lech Walesa also said that he wanted to preserve the obvious achievements of the past two years, but, at the same time to improve whatever was wrong. "I wanted to combine both these philosophies. Now I can see that it did not work," he admitted.

Asked about the chances of Olszewski's government Walesa described them as 30 to 70 percent, "but I will not say which way" he added jokingly.

Committees Meet Candidates

LD2212230891 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 22—A number of Sejm (lower house) committees began hearing cabinet members immediately after Prime Minister Jan Olszewski had presented them to the chamber last Saturday.

The Sejm Committee for Contacts with Poles Residing Abroad approved the candidacy of Krzysztof Skubiszewski for minister of foreign affairs, Wojciech Wlodarczyk for head of the Council of Ministers' Office (URM) and Antoni Macierewicz for minister of internal affairs. Skubiszewski also positively passed hearing by the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Wlodarczyk was accepted by the Committee for Ethnic Minorities but his candidacy was rejected by the Committee for Local Governments which said he had insufficient knowledge of the local governments that require much attention from the URM.

The Committee for Spatial Economy, Housing and Construction Policy did not assess Andrzej Diakonow as candidate for head of the respective ministry and expressed anxiety over plans to liquidate the Construction Ministry. It urged the prime minister to make clear his intentions on the issue. The Committee for Culture and Mass Media disapproved the candidacy of Andrzej Sicinski for minister of culture and arts who was, however, accepted by the Committee for Ethnic Minorities.

Andrzej Stelmachowski's candidacy for minister of education was not examined because he is in hospital since December 17. On Sunday, Jerzy Kropiwnicki was supported by the Social Policy Committee as candidate for minister of labour despite his vague answers to a number of questions, such as unemployment combatting, housing policy, etc.

Candidate for minister of finance Karol Lutkowski told Health Committee that the only solution is to ask the Parliament to give a green light to "certain painful measures" and, referring the health service wages which are financed from the central budget, that "the budget-financed wages have been a kicking boy and this may not change in the nearest future."

Gabriel Janowski was strongly supported as candidate for minister of agriculture by the Committee for Farming and Food Economy which found him the best candidate who is a farming expert and a prominent union activist.

Vice-Chairman of the Christian National Union ZChN Antoni Macierewicz was accepted as candidate for internal minister by the Committee for Administration and Internal Affairs. During the hearing, Macierewicz drew the Committee's attention to three threats that face the Ministry and will have to be coped with: growing crime rate, "transparency of the Polish state to penetration from all geographical and ideological directions," and unsolved personnel questions.

The candidacy of Stefan Kozlowski for minister of environmental protection, natural resources, and forestry was supported by the respective Sejm committee. Adam Glapinski who was proposed as candidate for minister of foreign economic cooperation (formerly minister of construction) was not accepted by the respective committee which found Glapinski's progremme unconvincing.

The Health Committee accepted Marian Miskiewicz as candidate for minister of health. Miskiewicz told the committee, among other things, that insurance must become the source of health service financing in the near future.

The Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and Maritime Economy, as well as the Committee for Industry and Trade supported the candidacy of Ewaryst Waligorski as minister of transport and maritime economy. The fact that already the third cabinet offers this office to Waligorski confirms his qualifications, the committee said.

The Committee for National Defence rejected candidate for the defence minister Jan Parys who found it difficult to answer many questions related to Polish national defence because he had not planned to become minister and did not prepare himself for the hearing.

Three Candidates Rejected

LD2212143291 Warsaw PAP in English 1356 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22—The Sejm Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and Maritime Economy Sunday rejected Andrzej Glapinski as candidate for the minister of foreign economic relations. The committee said they found Glapinski unable to answer their questions in full.

Meanwhile, Jerzy Kropiwnicki of ZChN was approved by the Sejm Committee of Social Policy as the prime minister's candidate for the minister of labour.

Zbigniew Dyka was approved as candidate for the justice minister at a meeting of the Sejm Committe of Justice, of which he is the chairman, here today. Dyka pledged to be tough about economic scandals, now rampant in Poland, and be immune to any political pressure. He is concerned about "the scope of economic scandals, rubbing their backs with the power elites". Also, Dyka is against any forms of collective responsibility, as he say, overthrow of the entire legal system inherited from the communist rule would amount to "suicide".

After seven hours of hearings Saturday night, the Sejm Committee for Economic Policy, Budget and Finance came up with an inconclusive verdict on Jerzy Eysymontt as candidate to carry on as the "CUP" Central Planning Office chief but also intended to head the ministry of economy after the planned merger of two related ministries and the "CUP". Reporters were told that 13 committee members were for and just as many against Eysymontt, with two abstentions.

The same committee was more firm about another cabinet candidate, namely Karol Lutkowski, whom they found unfit for the post.

Skubiszewski's Candidacy Endorsed

LD2212084291 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 22 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Babenko]

[Text] Warsaw December 22 TASS—The Foreign Affairs Commission of the Polish Sejm, at its meeting on

Saturday, endorsed the candidacy of Krzysztof Skubiszewski for the post of minister of foreign affairs in a new cabinet of ministers.

In response to questions from members of Parliament, Skubiszewski said that Polish foreign policy is faced with two fundamental tasks: to closely cooperate with neighbours and focus attention on new prospects opening up in the East in view of the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In both cases, this must be a creative and active policy, he emphasised. Regional relationships are acquiring an immense weight. Poland's cooperation with the newly independent Baltic states acquire importance, along with the expansion of cooperation between the countries of the "triangle" which includes Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, Skubiszewski said.

Sejm Accepts New Government

LD2312154791 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 23—The Sejm (lower house) accepted Monday the government as proposed by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Friday.

The house voted 235 to 60 with 139 abstentions in favour of Olszewski's government. The required absolute majority was 218 votes.

Deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Real Politics Union (UPR) voted against while deputies from the Democratic Union (UD), Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN), Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), and Party X abstained from voting.

Before the Sejm took the vote, Olszewski told the house that in two months his government will prepare a two or three-year programme of getting the country out of the economic, social and civilizational recession, and warned that additional sacrifices on the part of society will be necessary.

Referring to some reservations raised during the parliamentary debate Monday, Prime Minister Olszewski explained his cabinet cannot be a government of a breakthrough in an economy in such a (poor) condition as it is now.

"I want it to be a government of hope for the society, but not a hope for an immediate or even a gradual improvement because there is not chance for it. Such hope should be sought above all in a programme aimed at seeking ways out of the present economic, social and civilizational recession," Olszewski declared.

The prime minister added that the very tense situation in the country made him form the government so fast.

Speaking of many urgent problems Poland faces at present Olszewski said that the society is running out of patience while protests spread across the country and the list of justified social demands grows longer. However, no government will be able to settle at present even a single demand that is connected with increased state expenditure, Olszewski cautioned.

It is the operation of the "grey" or "black" economic zone that causes the greatest losses to the state treasury and arouses the greatest protest among society, Olszewski said and pledged to firmly combat these phenomena.

Oszewski Has 'Free Hand' to Enlarge Presidium

LD2012205691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpts] This afternnoon, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski met journalists in the Sejm.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] Do you intend to broaden the government presidium and if yes, with whom?

[Olszewski] That is one of the questions that, let us say, the president left me to solve. I, at the moment, have not yet formally come to any final decision. There are certain things that I had to ask the president to leave for me to decide, because some talks—both with some candidates and some political forces—had still not been completed by the time I went to the president. However, this concerned not basic issues but aspects that I would define as secondary. The president left me a free hand on this issue and a free decision. [end recording]

Olszewski Meets Press on Cabinet, Coalition Issues

LD2012184791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1510 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpts] The composition of the governemnt is ready, in principle, Prime Minister Olszewski has told journalists. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Olszewski] That is all I have to say to you. Any questions please?

[Jelenski] Andrzej Jelenski, Polish Radio First Program. Prime Minister, are we going to have a government before Christmas ? The second question: Which things still need to be clarified in the formation [word indistinct] of the government?

[Olszewski] I have attempted to do everything so that a government may be created by Christmas. I have kept to the deadline that I conveyed to you at the previous news conference and now, naturally, the matter is in the hands of the Sejm. Therefore, I cannot tell you in any definite way whether we are going to have a government before Christmas or not.

[Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister, a moment ago the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] stated that you proposed too little to them in order for them to support the government; negotiations with the Democratic Union [UD] have also been unsuccessful. Does this

mean that government is going to be supported by, is only going to be able to count on the support of the [words indistinct] and the Christian National Union?

[Olszewski] I do not know about the statement made by the PSL on this matter. I have spoken to PSL representatives, and I still have another appointment. No official PSL stance has been conveyed to me. If we are talking about the attitude of the UD, yesterday evening I spoke to representatives of the UD, that is as I understand it the attitude during the meeting. I think the Union will define its attitude toward the government somehow.

[Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister, in that case, on what coalition are you basing the government created by you? Does that coalition have a majority in Parliament and if not, what votes are you still counting on?

[Olzewski] Ladies and Gentlemen, I will recap: In my speech, the second one in the Sejm, when the question of accepting my resignation was decided, as was upholding the authorization given to me by the Sejm, I said then that I considered the coalition formula on which the first proposition was based—my first effort, so to speak, aimed at forming a cabinet—that that basis was really no longer valid and, in this sphere, I was going to appeal to all serious democratic groups for support for my government. I do not deny that I am counting on such support.

[Unidentified correspondent] To whom from the UD did you offer posts? This is the first question. Second, you did talk with Leszek Balcerowicz today. If the president agrees, would you like Leszek Balcerowicz to become the president of the Polish National Bank [NBP]? Thank you.

[Olszewski] Madam, as regards your first question, forgive me, but these are matters, that my partners and I treat with some degree of confidentiality, and I have not been authorized to disclose the content of the talks without my partners' consent. I beg your understanding for not being able to answer the question. As regards my conversation today with Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, it simply focused on current matters. We have the situation in which I occupy the post of prime minister, and I have been—at least formally—responsible for the government work as a whole. I have been formally responsible because I have not been able to do it in practice. Prime Minister [as heard] Balcerowicz has been kind enough to undertake, with my authorization, the job of supervising current government work, and he is still performing this function. Of course, there are some matters that require some sort of information contacts between us, and this was the subject of our meeting today. [end recording]

Party Decisions on Joining the Government Viewed

UD Will Not Join

LD2012225191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the Democratic Union, by unidentified correspondent on 20 December in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] Members of the coalition are making efforts to persuade the Democratic Union [UD] to take part in government, or at least to lend its support when it comes to voting. The leadership of the Union and the parliamentary floor group of that party have, during yet another meeting, been deciding their stand with regard to the cabinet of Jan Olszewski.

[Correspondent] Will the Union enter the Jan Olszewski government?

[Mazowiecki] No, it will not enter the government of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. Anyway, in connection with information that is being circulated, I must deny this same information: No offer of co-constructing this government has been made to us.

[Correspondent] Will you back the government in voting?

[Mazowiecki] We believe that our country is in such a situation that it is necessary for some sort of government to be put together. However—as has been said by others—there are many ways to behave; there also exists a so-called third way to behave.

[Correspondent] For example, by not being present in the House?

[Mazowiecki] No, no, that would be petty.

[Correspondent] So how do you today rate the chances of Jan Olszewski's government getting through the Monday vote?

[Mazowiecki] Sir, I believe that since Prime Minister Olszewski has decided to present the government as early as tomorrow, then obviously he himself believes that he has enough political backing to ensure that the government is accepted. It is difficult for me to give an assessment, since I do not know of all the conversations that Prime Minister Olszewski has held.

[Correspondent] But is your decision final? Is any kind of persuasion possible?

[Mazowiecki] You mean persuading us?

[Correspondent] The Union, yes.

[Mazowiecki] Yes, our decision is final.

PSL Participation Still 'Open'

LD2012181791 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 20—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski met again chairman of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) Waldemar Pawlak this afternoon. Although no details of the talks were disclosed, information leaks show that participation by the PSL in a new government is still an open question.

The Democratic Union (UD) convened a meeting of its presidium to examine support by the UD parliamentary

floor group for the new government. The UD's absence in the new government seems to be forejudged after yesterday's debates of its presidium and a statement to this effect.

Andrzej Stelmachowski is likely to be education minister and Krzysztof Skubiszewski foreign minister in the new government.

KPN May Join Opposition

LD2012171891 Warsaw PAP in English 1636 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 20—The Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) does not feel like joining the Olszewski government as it is proposed now, said Krzysztof Krol of the KPN on Friday.

Asked whether his party will join the opposition, Krol stated this will depend on the actual programme of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski.

The KPN fears that Olszewski may try to satisfy all the parliamentary forces while it is hardly possible to combine Leszek Balcerowicz as head of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) and cabinet members representing the Democratic Union (UD) with postulates of decommunisation and economic breakthrough, Krol said.

Balcerowicz To Help Russian Economic Reform

LD2012164791 Warsaw PAP in English 1431 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 20—Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz did not deny on Friday that during his visit to Moscow he had been asked to be Russian Government's economic advisor.

Balcerowicz confirmed he talked with Boris Yeltsin about political issues and the economic plans of the Russian Government. Asked whether he would accept the Russian proposal, he replied: "This should not be taken literally as a permanent job. I think there are important things also in Poland. But the question of restructuring the economic system of Russia, this big country, as well as the entire Europe, is something that deserves interest."

Balcerowicz added that some of his associates are already advising Russia on economic questions. "Full time jobs are not important in such cases. What matters is the awareness of the magnitude and difficulty of the tasks that have to be coped with," Balcerowicz concluded.

Iliescu Speaks on Revolution's Anniversary

AU2112182591 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0824 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu to a joint Parliament session in Bucharest commemorating the 1989 revolution—live]

[Text] Parliament Presidents, Honored Members, Esteemed Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: Two years have elapsed since the victory of the Romanian revolution. Television stations throughout the world broadcast live the frantic development of the crucial events in our country. The antitotalitarian and anticommunist revolutions in Central and East Europe reached their climax in Romania. The former sociopolitical system, personified in its final stage by Ceausescu's dictatorship, was overthrown through an incandescent and explosive movement with an impressive participation of all social forces and strata. All those who experienced those moments of triumph and suffering experienced their particular emotional intensity. We were participating in an event of historic proportions, without realizing at that time all the implications, although it was an event of universal proportions as shown by its international resonance and the wave of sympathetic and moving gestures of solidarity from around the world.

From now on, 1989 will mark these extraordinary revolutionary movements in which the Romanians lent an additional radical element and a decisively historic sweep. An unprecedentedly tragic period ended, and another one full of hope began. The overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship and the totalitarian communist regime, through the energy of the masses in the streets and the subsequent restructuring of the entire state system, are changes that have marked us all. Similar to a purifying flame, they restored our confidence in ourselves and in the capability of the Romanian nation to be the master of its own destiny.

At this time, our first thoughts turn to those who had the courage and dignity to oppose the dictatorship head-on at that decisive time for our destiny, glorifying the Romanian people through their sacrifice and reaffirming their desire for freedom. In retrospect, today we see more clearly that the Romanian revolution was—through certain characteristics but particularly its tragic proportions—a unique phenomenon whose significance is increasing in the light of the current changes, thus consecrating the movement in Romania two years ago as an event to be remembered.

History has burdened us with a serious responsibility, namely to prove on the basis of facts that the supreme sacrifice of the heroes of the bloody December of 1989 has not been in vain. We, who today are here under the roof of this democratic institution, must assume with all our might the creed and legacy for which they sacrificed their lives. Today we are witnessing the pangs of national rebirth, and we are standing on the foundation blessed by the blood of the December 1989 martyrs. May their sacrifice and the moral strength that inspired them linger on as an example in our memory and the memory of future generations.

Honored audience, the December 1989 revolution meant a breach with the former system and opened a new road for Romania's destiny. It forcefully expressed the clear-cut choice for a democratic life and unleashed an irreversible process of transformation and modernization. With your permission, I would like to refer to a few aspects of the road we have traveled, to the short experience of the transition period, and to our immediate prospects.

Through the Program-Declaration of the night of 22 December [1989], the National Salvation Front Council, which assumed responsibility for leading the revolutionary process and governing the country during the dismantling of the former power structures, pledged before the nation to act decisively to establish democracy and to renew society. That communique, a team effort, summed up the aspiration of the revolutionary movement and lent it a programmatic nature. Objective examination reveals that, in general, this pledge has been observed. Thus, the totalitarian political system, which was sanctioned by the principle of a single party, was eliminated and the road toward a pluralist and democratic political system was paved.

The Communist Party—the bearer of the totalitarian communist ideology and main instrument for the preservation of the communist system—has disappeared from our country's political arena, not by force exercised by the new power, but as a result of our entry into a new and historic reality. The first free elections have been organized, and democratic institutions have been set up that are characteristic of a state of law, thus actually consecrating the principle of separated powers. The necessary legal framework for citizens' rights and freedoms, including the ethnic minorities, has been ensured, and the first measures for the transition to the market economy have been initiated.

Intensive efforts have been made to place the legislative system on a new foundation and to promote economic and political reforms. A wide opening in our country's foreign policy has taken place. Thus, after more than 40 years, Romania is able to reestablish historical and traditional relations and to reorient its foreign policy in keeping with its national interests. Although we have not been able to achieve all of our objectives, we have done a lot in a very short time. The revolution has permitted Romania to leap over intermediate stages and to reestablish itself along the course of historical evolutions in East Europe. The revolutionary movement had to dismantle a tremendous totalitarian system with extraordinarily equipped institutions, whose ramifications engulfed all aspects of social life. The revolution took place when society had reached a historic bottleneck, an acute crisis without any hope, a situation which could not be overcome except by removing the former regime by force.

We were unable to free ourselves from the grip of the dictatorship through a velvet revolution like our neighboring countries. Once the legitimate people's revolt broke out, the dictator tried to suppress it by force. A peaceful solution, through political means, would have spared us sacrifice and additional convulsions. Today it is clear that the decisive element, which determined the victory of this change, was the tremendous uprising of the masses—young and old, workers and intellectuals, men and women—against the dictatorship, first in Timisoara, which withstood attempts to suppress the people by making great sacrifices and by showing exemplary heroism for an entire week, and then in Bucharest where the overpowering masses in the streets decapitated the regime, and in other centers of our country, thus lending the revolutionary movement an explosive and radical nature, features that lend the Romanian revolution its special characteristic.

To ensure the victory, a decisive role was played by the Army and the Ministry of Interior forces, which joined the people. The unity achieved in those hot days and the impressive consensus that united the revolution forces will stand witness to the Romanian people's specific capability to mobilize their under extreme circumstances when the national destiny is at stake. In December 1989, we were in such a situation.

Our revolution was characterized by an unexpected complexity stemming from the blending of certain domestic and foreign factors that studies so far have been unable to fully disentangle. The dramatic nature of confrontations before 22 December and after that date, the hasty sequence of events, and the confusion and disorientation of forces that acted during those days and nights, later gave birth to a whole mythology of the revolution that was exploited by various publications in order to disseminate various versions depending on the facts and nuances they remembered, and, last but not least, depending on the political interests and intentions they promoted.

What we need, however, is a total, genuine reconstruction of events, done with honesty and objectivity in order to decipher the full truth and to clarify confused or enigmatic situations by eliminating the imaginary scenarios spun around these events.

Aside from all the details, some of which are undoubtedly very important ones, there is the fundamental truth that in December 1989 the Romanian people made a revolution. The millions of people who rose against dictatorship, and especially the radical and thoroughgoing nature of the changes it generated, stand witness to this. Coups de etat are able to change leaders but not social systems. A revolution took place in December 1989 that swept away an anachronistic regime and unleashed the transformation of the entire society. The truth is that the revolt against the totalitarian regime and the desire for change were unanimous, that they manifested themselves in different forms—not only through public statements by some dissidents or through attempts to set up structures aimed at overthrowing the dictator, but first and foremost through deep-going organic resistance present in all segments of the population as a constant feature of our life.

Without this erosive action over the years, the overthrow of the totalitarian communist regime would not have been possible. Finding out the truth may also have a clarifying effect for establishing criminal responsibilities. Justice has to manifest itself as a truly independent authority by rejecting any political interference and assuming, for the sake of truth and justice, the responsibility placed on it by genuine democracy.

In a genuine trial covering the entire 45 years, it is necessary to disassociate political, ideological, and moral aspects from legal responsibilities. The latter can only refer to persons who violated the laws or committed abuses. It is absurd to blame entire social categorism, and more so to extend the blame to all Romanians by ignoring the historical context and the realities in which we were living.

The communist system is an historical experience that has ended forever in Romania and, seen objectively, there is no possibility of its restoration in any form. At the same time, one should not tolerate any intention to hide that system's inherent aberrations and injustices. The writing of history in the merciless light of truth will undoubtedly reveal all dimensions of that injustice with a necessary dose of critical discernment, however. One should realize that the meaning of the revolution was not to turn back the wheel of history, but to open a path for reconstruction along the road of contemporary civilization with its most notable advances, by proceeding from the prevailing realities and from our evolutionary stage. One cannot disregard the constructive work and efforts of the people over the past 45 years. The key issue is to set up the specific mechanisms of democracy and the market economy by preserving the values and assets produced by the material and intellectual creative efforts of the sons of these lands.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the two years that have elapsed since the revolution, we have known and are still experiencing, like all of East Europe, an unprecedented historical experience for which we did not and do not have any sure reference points or proven models for success. The transition from a totalitarian society to a democratic one and from a supercentralized economy to a market system proved to be a much more difficult and confusing process than we initially thought. Consequently, we are learning this process while implementing it and are faced with many unforeseeable situations, with unprecedented events and social traumas, and with violence and convulsions that we were not able to avoid and that we all regret. These traumas have often raised questions about our democratic course. I would say that we are now at a critical point of transition, when almost all the component parts of the social edifice we are building are in a deep crisis, whose many elements are hard to grasp. This is a crucial point, when the practical

requirements of the reform process have priority and must receive concrete answers. We are now living through a moment of return to the realism of social politics, after the storm that has upset us all. The basic prerequisite of this new system is to reconcile our desires with realistic opportunities.

The most significant changes are occurring in our political system. After the 20 May 1990 elections, we created a new and basically democratic institutional framework—after the duly inevitable tensions—a framework that can be undoubtedly improved upon. The assertion of political pluralism, the separation of powers, the consolidation and internal clarification of the political parties, the inauguration of the parliamentary process, and the freedom of speech and opinion have shaped a new political landscape for us. The adoption of the Constitution is the most important political act since the 22 December 1989 revolution, an act that the large majority of the people understood and endorsed in a spirit of great civic responsibility through the 8 December referendum. The Constitution sanctions the freedoms and values of democracy and establishes a new structure for the political system by marking a final break with the old regime and the crucial moment in building the state of law.

The adoption of the Constitution is the crowning of an outstanding and difficult parliamentary process, which in itself was a school of dialogue and democracy. Now comes the most difficult thing, namely, the actual application of the Constitution and the shaping of society's active structures in accordance with its democratic requirements, something that will further enhance the coherence of the transition process and hopefully take us from the prevailing confusion and provisional state of the road of normalization. The Constituent Assembly fulfilled the mission for which it was elected, offering the nation a new covenant of laws. We concluded a distinct phase of the transition process when the Parliament carried out an intensive legislative agenda of capital importance for the country's reconstruction.

You, as representatives of the popular will, have instilled life in this democratic forum, and the new legislative system bears the imprint of your collective contribution, which one must value, given the complexity of the task devolving upon the first freely elected Parliament after so many decades of the totalitarian regime.

Nobody can contest today the reality of our political freedoms, the institutional premises we have created, and the civic rights and freedoms granted, which intrinsically includes the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities. We were all faced with difficulties, with overwhelmingly urgent requirements, and with novel situations.

As far as I am concerned, I did my best to honestly fulfill the duties incumbent upon the presidency in the new configuration of our political system, being encouraged by the popular support granted me by the electorate one and half years ago. I also took careful note of the criticism leveled at me, however, some of which was justified and correct, while also putting up, as you well know, with various manifestations of ill-will, ranging from impoliteness to totally ungrounded invective and accusations whose motivation I can understand but not accept. I felt I should responsibly assume the duties of the mandate entrusted to me by the electorate, at such a time of turmoil, in spite of all inherent risks.

I hope that you agree with my assessment of the relevance of Titu Maiorescu's [19th century Romanian writer, publisher, and politician] words: Criticism, be it bitter, is absolutely necessary for our existence and development, if it is just; therefore, we should implant the seed of truth by all means and at all costs. Let us remember this advice, which can guide us in our thoughts and actions, that we can enhance our democratic behavior.

Honored audience, the reform of the economic system is the key problem of the Romanian people. Its implementation depends on several factors which are hard to control and master. It is obvious that errors have also been made in the process, both with regard to the conception and the implementation of the reform. Some of these errors were caused by inexperience, others by rash and ill-prepared decisions. They also led to negative collateral effects that we did not know how to prevent. The most visible aspect of our current crisis is that the new organizational structures of the economic system are only in the making, and so far have been able to replace the old bureaucratic command mechanisms only to a small extent. This interval is most dangerous; hence, we should find concrete and efficient ways to shorten it.

In practical terms, we must replace an outdated, nationalized, and supercentralized economy with a modern one based on market mechanisms. As for how we and our children are going to live, it all depends on our ability to bring about this change. Destiny is challenging us again. We are faced with an historical test that will prove our ability to give adequate answers to overwhelming challenges.

We are in the middle of a vortex of change leading to a redefining of the geopolitical environment, of international relations, and of the positions that countries and nations will take in the new Europe. The disintegration of previous mechanisms for economic integration and security—mechanisms that also regulated the network of exchanges and cooperation in which we were anchored with the accompanying loss of relatively sure sources of raw materials and tolerant markets for the quality of our products—had a paralyzing effect on our economy.

At the same time, the Western support we initially counted on for our economic rebirth could not and cannot be a substitute for our own efforts. It is encouraging that, over the past two months, Western financial organizations and businessmen have shown increasingly greater interest in Romania and that our diplomatic

contacts and negotiations have made obvious progress, something that was also reflected in the steps taken to conclude a lasting accord for Romanian association with the European Economic Community. This is a sign that the Western economic bodies took note of the new government's decision to continue the course of reform, even under conditions of great crisis.

Our reintegration in the new exchange and economic cooperation circuits can only be achieved by learning to become competitive and adapting ourselves to the tough laws of competition, so as not to risk our country's long-term economic subordination, given our technological backwardness and the low level of labor productivity compared to the developed countries—things which cannot be remedied overnight. In these circumstances, the reform is no political slogan. Neither is it the monopoly of a person or group of persons. It is, rather, a huge task of the Romanian people, whose implementation requires the mobilization of all political and social forces and the contribution of long-term scientific thinking stimulated by confrontations of ideas and in-depth debates. Only thus, rather than through the superficial takeover of inadequate models, will we be able to find most of the appropriate answers to the dilemmas of transition, while limiting its social and human costs.

In this respect, I would like to emphasize the need for the government to work out immediate solutions to meet the urgent material requirements of the large majority of citizens, particularly in these harsh days of winter. At the same time, I would like to emphasize society's need for viable alternatives, competing but well-grounded political programs and strategies that can take over the course of transition at a governmental level when the previous trajectories turn out to be either devoid of scope or lacking social support.

In a democratic system, the overall attitude toward the components of the political opposition should actually legitimize the diversity of the programs submitted to the nation and the right to redefine the given situation in other terms and to suggest other social projects. I believe the nation would only stand to profit if one were to overcome the current fragmentation and splintering of the political spectrum and to structure the political life around several basic options, each with authentic resonances in the economic and social strata. A new political class of Romanian society is growing up before our eyes. We hope that it will boast competence, professionalism, European openness, responsibility for national interests, long-term thinking, and political realism. It is vitally important that the public institutions and the parties should find ways and means to put an end to dilettantism, incompetence, and imposture by introducing very strict filters for selecting true values, with the necessary support of the mass media and public opinion, which are the supreme courts of democracy.

In the process of readjusting the relations between institutions and the social and professional groups, as well as between the political landscape and the civic society structures, a particular importance devolves upon the trade union movement. Through the millions of employees whose interests they promote, the trade unions represent a considerable force. This new force is still searching for its meaning and place in the new society, by trying to define stable relations with representatives of the employers, the government, and the political parties. This process turned out to be quite difficult and often led to tensions and even social conflicts.

To prevent the risk of convulsions and anarchical movements, it is absolutely necessary to further consolidate the employees' representation in democratic structures, to promote dialogue and critical thinking, and to rehabilitate the idea of social order through observation of valid legislation and democratic institutions. This is particularly important in a transition society, when all structures are searching for a new identity and their interrelationships are still hesitant and inconsistent. Pressures caused by various claims and wage increase demands, quite exaggerated at times, have led to tensions and conflicts that might have been avoided had one used the democratic instruments for negotiating and harmonizing interests and observed the legal framework and institutions created for this purpose.

Another major phenomenon is corruption, which perpetuated itself under the diffident supervision of the public order institutions and financial control mechanisms. It enabled certain false entrepreneurs to get rich quickly through profiteering and black-marketeering. Supporting private entrepreneurs and small-scale production and services, as well as developing a market economy, cannot be compatible with the spread of this affliction, which the government and the justice bodies should halt immediately. It is vital to suppress all corrupt phenomena in the state apparatus and public administration. It is necessary to formulate and adopt the statutes governing public service and to finalize the decision on the obligation of all dignitaries to declare their wealth and to supply proof of their incomes, both on their appointment to and their release from their positions.

The reform of society cannot be reduced to its economic and political dimensions. It necessarily comprises the cultural-intellectual sphere, too, as a specific source of stimulation for the processes of change, and as a backbone of human renewal and redefinition. There are no modern scripts for development that fail to mention the intellectual factor, which is only natural in view of the decisive contribution of scientific research and education to the accelerated dynamism of modern society. I consider the nihilist attitudes toward the cultural creation of the post-war period as dangerous and unjustified. It is a proven fact that, despite the censorship and paralyzing interdictions that affected this vital sphere, valuable works were produced and a viable artistic movement did exist. Therefore, we are not starting from zero in the new race to recovery. In spite of its limitations, our education system has created generations of well-trained young people who, unfortunately, were not and still are not properly utilized. Scientific and artistic activity

defied the suffocating environment of the dictatorship. It gradually eroded the dictatorship's support levers and preserved society's open and critical awareness.

A most worrisome phenomenon since the revolution is the excessive politicization of cultural and scientific institutions and of the means of education, as well as the reemergence of exclusivist and intolerant attitudes taken from the arsenal of a defunct epoch. Our hope is that science and culture will gradually find their necessary balance and that the current turmoil is part of a natural process of sorting out and selection of values. Ideally, this would result in a fruitful dialogue and lead to an osmosis of intellectual ideas and directions, thus bringing back the message of Romanian culture into the universal system of values and and stimulating all springs of creativity.

The cultural institutions suffered a real shock, however, when certain market economy principles were introduced in an anarchic manner, which disrupted their ability to function normally. One should tackle carefully those difficulties that paralyzed the publishing houses, press, theaters, and communications media with a view to finding adequate solutions for the new economic realities.

The aim is to avoid the deterioration of intellectual life and its downfall to the level of a consumption culture devoid of any intellectual dimension and human depth, thus blocking the way to true culture which gives expression to our creative potential and can reshape mentalities and practical behavior, including the political and civic realms.

Therefore, I would like to point out that reform is all-encompassing. Its vital parts are education, scientific research, the arts, the media, and communications. We can find the best solutions only by employing society's entire scientific and political potential and all trends of economic, technological, and managerial thought in a combined effort to redefine the reform process in more concrete and realistic terms. The Romanian people are interested in reform and want to see consistent and coherent transition, which does not squander their hopes and readiness to adjust to what is new.

Honored audience, we hope that the outcome of this reform process will be the reassertion of our nation in the new European configuration. Our task is to redefine Romania's position in the new system of geopolitical relations and economic cooperation, so as to guarantee our territorial sovereignty and integrity and establish a climate of peace and understanding among the states in this area, to the benefit of all. Radical changes have been taking place in Europe, and the roles of all countries, including those in the central and eastern parts of the continent, had to be redefined. Germany's reunification, the USSR's dismemberment and the emergence of sovereign states from the former Union, the Yugoslav conflict, and the attitude toward it adopted by political factors in Europe and the United States, are central elements of the international life and are of direct interest to our country.

The year 1989 found Romania in a state of diplomatic isolation that we tried to eliminate. We need relations of neighborliness and latitude with Europe and the rest of the world. The recent treaties concluded with Greece, Turkey, Italy, and France, and those being negotiated with Hungary, Germany, Russia, Bulgaria, and the CSFR are steps toward realigning our diplomacy along its traditional lines.

The emergence of a new neighbor on our north-eastern border, the independent state of the Ukraine, requires special attention from us and the establishment of neighborly and actively cooperative relations. These relations are all the more necessary as Romania, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter, will have to create the necessary political climate and negotiating framework to tackle certain delicate problems, such as those relating to the situation of Romanian territories incorporated in the former Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, following certain arbitrary decisions totally devoid of any legal or historic justification.

We will also have to rethink Romania's special relations with the Republic of Moldova. We are convinced that the diversification of mutual ties and the direct action of economic entities, cultural cooperation associations, trade unions, and political parties will contribute to finding new solutions for the natural reblending of the historical destiny of the Romanians on both banks of the Prut River. We will fulfill our historical duty by observing the right of the Romanian people across the Prut to self-determination, and by jointly searching for ways and means to make up for a historical injustice—a nefarious consequence of the Molotov-Von Ribbentrop Pact, which is rejected today by everyone.

Romania's entire international activity will be subordinate to observing international documents and to creating a climate of peace and stability in this part of the continent.

Esteemed compatriots, a difficult social and economic period is ahead of us, with a very busy political schedule. The communal and municipal elections on 9 February, we are sure, will be correct and honest. These elections will legitimize a local state administration as it will result from the will and trust of the electorate. Another decisive test of the political parties with the electorate will be the parliamentary elections to be held next spring. These elections will elect a new Parliament, which in turn will entrust the country's government to a new team. I express my confidence in the maturity and responsibility of the political parties and the electorate to ensure that the natural confrontation occasioned by the elections will stay within the boundaries of political civility,

democracy, and the state of law, so that this confrontation can lead to more consistent programs and better solutions for the country's recovery.

The disappointment of a large strata of the population, which is faced with acute material shortages and daily problems, must instill a feeling of urgency in all those responsible for the concrete administration of available resources and capacities, so as to halt the dangerous course of social disorder, waste, corruption, and crime. We must jointly assume responsibility for this critical situation. You, as representatives of various political groups, will surely realize the imperative demands of the hour, when lucidity is called for in order to facilitate through dialogue and open discussion, the search for the best solutions to take out the country of the present deadlock.

With the hope that we will manage to merge our options and actions against a background of national interest, allow me to wish you a Merry Christmas and New Year, with more hopes and achievements. [applause]

Government Recognizes Independence of Belarus

AU2212192691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/12/1991—Romania's Government decided to recognize the Belorussian Republic as an independent state, to establish diplomatic ties with that state and develop friendly and cooperative relations with it on the basis of the principles of international law, the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Paris Charter for a new Europe.

International

German Recognition of Republics Termed 'Hostile'

LD2012213891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2015 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today sent a note to the German Goverment in which it assesses that Germany's decision to recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia would be a "hostile act against the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia." The note, which was presented to the charge d'affaires of the German Embassy in Belgrade Martin Lutz, says that the decision to recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia would "present open interference in the internal relations in Yugoslavia, and an invitation to topple Yugoslavia and negate its international personality," it was announced.

This is why the note expresses hope that the German Government will "find a way to get in step with the stand of the European Community (E.C.) in its declaration of November 8, 1991, and refrain from any steps until an integral solution to the Yugoslav crisis is found." The decision to recognize Croatia and Slovenia would, says the note, "in the most direct way stimulate the secession of certain parts of Yugoslavia and prejudge solutions about which only the nations of Yugoslavia should decide. It would bring into international relations an unacceptable practice, and one which would be very dangerous for peace and security in the world, to force solutions which are an expression of partial political interests..."

The note recalls that the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia would be contrary to the conclusions of the E.C., the principles of the work of the Hague conference, the resolutions of the United Nations (U.N.) Security Council and the key principles of the U.N. Charter and the Paris Charter. That is why the Yugoslav Government assesses, as said, that such a decision by the German Government presents a gross violation of the universal principles of international cooperation and cooperation within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The note also underscores that the "Government of the Federal Republic of Germany could not shirk responsibility for creating a climate of distrust and for raking up the painful past of the nations living in Yugoslav lands, and for the essential deterioration of bilateral relations..."

Federal

Assembly Issues Statement on EC Declaration

LD2112152291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly, after a debate at separate sessions of the Federal Chamber and Chamber of Republics and Provinces on the declarations of the EC on Yugoslavia and the guidelines for recognition of the new states in eastern Europe and the USSR, today adopted a declaration in response to the EC stands. This is a document which the highest legislative body of Yugoslavia has adopted in order to protect the essential interests and the dignity of Yugoslavia as a whole, and of all its nations, nationalities, and peoples.

The declaration says:

The adoption of decisions by a group of states about other countries, which interfere in their territorial integrity and political independence, is a violation of the valid norms of international law and a dangerous precedent in relations between states and nations, opening the way for the rule of strength, conflicts, and violence and posing a very direct threat to international peace and security.

The 16 December 1991 declaration on Yugoslavia by the EC foreign ministers objectively promotes and encourages the continuation of armed conflicts in Yugoslavia and their spread to areas and republics which are not yet caught up in them; attempts to legalize secession, thereby destroying the sovereign rights of the nations of Yugoslavia which decided to live together; and in this way opens the way for a dangerous complication of international relations, particularly in this part of Europe.

Yugoslavia accepted the good offices and mediation of the EC in the framework of the mandate which it received from the CSCE in the process of seeking a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis through an agreement between the Yugoslav nations and republics. The latest decisions of the EC Council of Ministers exceed this mandate and are in direct contravention of the stand adopted at the 4 October 1991 Hague Conference on Yugoslavia, which sets out that recognition of republics which seek this can only ensue at the end of the process of negotiation and within the framework of a complete solution, and that it is essential that all interested parties take part in the formulation of a political solution.

The unilateral documents, on the basis of which individual Yugoslav republics are recognized by individual states or a group of states, would be in direct contrast with the principles and provisions of the UN Charter, the declaration on the principles of the international law concerning friendly relations between states and the declaration on nonintervention and noninterference in the internal affairs of states, as well as the CSCE principles, and would therefore represent a serious violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the SFRY and a violation of the principle of inalienability of borders. They would be contrary to points seven of Resolutions 713 and 724 [as received], according to which all the states are advised to refrain from any action which can contribute to the rising of tension and hamper or delay a peaceful outcome of negotiations on resolving the conflict in Yugoslavia, as well as allow all nations of Yugoslavia to decide about their own future in peace.

In particular, the SFRY Assembly protests that the EC declaration of 16 December 1991 negates the state of Yugoslavia, which is one of the founders and members of the United Nations, the CSCE, the Nonaligned Movement, and many other international organizations.

While respecting the efforts which the EC has made, especially within the framework of The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Lord Carrington, and hoping that the conference will resume its work within the framework of its mandate, the SFRY Assembly considers that—in order for the EC to continue its efforts in resolving the Yugoslav crisis—it is necessary that the EC and its members abandon the application of the declaration on Yugoslavia of 16 December 1991, and reaffirm their earlier stand—that the recognition of Yugoslav republics could be considered only as part of a comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis and a final agreement on it—to which consent would also be given by the highest-ranking body representing Yugoslavia. The EC, observing the principles and norms of international law, would thus best contribute to efforts to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia, through an agreement between all its nations and citizens.

The SFRY Assembly considers the involvement of the UN Security Council, through the mission of Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the secretary general, to be exceptionally important with the aim of the immediate despatch of peace-keeping forces in order to secure an immediate and lasting cessation of armed conflicts and the security of all nations in the crisis areas. The Assembly sees in the immediate and successful arrival of UN peace-keeping forces in the crisis areas an important factor in calming and halting the conflicts, and thereby creating the essential prerequisites for a democratic and lasing solution to the problem. In order to facilitate the sending of the UN peace-keeping forces, the SFRY Assembly calls on the parties to the agreement on the cessation of hostilities reached in Geneva on 23 November 1991 to immediately and fully carry out the commitments taken under this agreement.

The SFRY Assembly, faced with the threat to the survival of Yugoslavia as a state, is determined and decided to make every effort, together with the parliaments of the Yugoslav republics, to find a way out of the crisis and to revive the agreements on forms of further coexistence.

The SFRY Assembly calls on the parliaments of all countries and the international community to support the protection of sovereignty under international law, and the sovereign rights of Yugoslavia, and to offer support to all organizations and forums which are engaged in this direction, particularly the United Nations, and in this way assist the nations and citizens of Yugoslavia to defend their country and preserve the basic rights guaranteed to them by the UN Charter and other international documents in force.

More on EC Declaration

LD2112181191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Following several hours of debate, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today adopted its conclusions regarding the EC Declaration on Yugoslavia. The conclusions state:

The Chamber assesses that the Declaration on Yugoslavia adopted by the EC Ministers for Foreign Affairs on 16 December 1991 in Brussels goes beyond their mandate of providing good offices in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, and grossly violates Yugoslav sovereignty and integrity, and negates the state of Yugoslavia as it attempts to legalize the anti-constitutional secession of certain federal units in Yugoslavia.

The Chamber maintains that it is necessary to immediately transfer the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis to the United Nations Organization bodies and organs. The Chamber stresses that a rapid and gradual involvement of UN peace forces in the war zones is one of the crucial prerequisites for a democratic and lasting solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

The Chamber resolutely demands that the signatories to the agreement on the cessation of armed hostilies signed on 23 November in Geneva immediately carry out in full their obligations envisaged by the agreement and secure an immediate end to armed clashes, and prevent the war from spreading to other parts of the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Chamber calls on all state and political entities in Bosnia- Hercegovina, while bearing in mind the interests of all three peoples, to ensure in a democratic way and by way of agreements, a peaceful and harmonious life for citizens in this republic, thus averting the threat of spreading the war across Yugoslav soil.

The Chamber calls on all entitites outside Bosnia-Hercegovina to refrain from any activities that might exacerbate interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to direct their activities toward encouraging and supporting this republic's legal bodies in their efforts to democratically overcome, within their rights and responsibilities, all controversies and to find a solution acceptable to all three nations in concert with the interests of all the peoples living in Bosnia-Hercegovina while respecting their equal rights and full equality.

In a situation when the country's survival is at stake, it is necessary more than ever for the SFRY Assembly to be, in line with its social stature and significance, the place where decisionmaking and agreements are made on fateful questions regarding the interests of every people and republic. This is why the Chamber is again calling on the assemblies of all the republics and provinces to work speedily, responsibly, and along democratic principles, together with the SFRY Assembly, on regulating by agreement relations in a future Yugoslav community.

The Chamber demands that the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and competent federal bodies enable the SFRY Assembly, in the sphere of foreign policies, to carry out its function as endorsed by the SFRY Constitution, rather than taking on its competences in this area.

The Chamber does not accept and recognize the unilateral and anti-constitutional acts of secession of some republics in Yugoslavia. Proceeding from the principle of a people's

self-determination endorsed by the SFRY Constitution, the Chamber stresses that this right belongs to every nation in Yugoslavia and that it is necessary to have an appropriate legal document passed in an emergency procedure on the ways and procedures of exercising this right.

All the republics are called upon to dispatch their representatives by 5 January next year in order to participate in formulating this document. The Chamber requires that the Federal Executive Council and relevant federal bodies take measures and start activities in line with the SFRY Constitution and federal legislation in order to curb and prevent all anti-constitutional and unlawful actions; moves and occurrences that aim to destroy the SFRY's constitutionally endorsed system—that is, the country as a whole—and demands that they implement without delay all the conclusions adopted so far by the SFRY Assembly, particularly the Chamber's conclusions of 25 June 1991.

Federal Chamber Rejects EC Move

LD2112124291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The EC declaration on Yugoslavia violates all norms of international law and encourages the continuation of armed conflicts in Yugoslavia, it is stressed in the declaration which was adopted today by the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly following a debate on the EC Brussels declaration.

The Yugoslav Assembly, the declaration says, considers that in the continuing involvement of the EC in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, it is essential that the EC desists from applying the declaration to Yugoslavia.

Markovic: 'Unacceptable To Propose War Budget'

LD2012182191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—"I do not see any other option but to return the mandate I was entrusted with. I have always and consistently been in favor of democracy and peace, and against war. For me it is therefore unacceptable to propose a war budget; I cannot and will not do that," said Ante Markovic, reiterating the statement previously made at the government session.

"Given that the SFRY Assembly is no longer functioning as a parliament which can represent all parts of Yugoslavia; and that the rump presidency of the SFRY is, by Constitution, not qualified to pass binding conclusions, there is no organ which may legitimately accept my resignation," Markovic added, speaking at the conference for foreign and domestic journalists, which had been urgently convened.

Markovic then said that he is prepared to become involved in any activity which legitimate representatives in the country or international factors may demand of him for the purpose of preventing war and killing, as well as seeking a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Ante Markovic then recalled that the political crisis and the war will undo the results of reform and the process of democratization.

"Neither the support of the world, the EC, the United Nations, the United States, the (European) Troika, nor the 14 ceasefiries—from Igalo to Geneva—nor The Hague conference have helped find a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, but the war continues to escalate, claiming thousands of casualties; destroying towns and villages in Croatia; threatening Bosnia-Hercegovina and the entire country; and resulting in numerous refugees, mainly poor people who are left with nothing", Markovic went on.

Assessing that as a result of all this, the economic catastrophe is deepening with the danger of hyper-inflation, millions of unemployed, a fall in production, shortages, and great poverty among millions of innocent people, Markovic stressed that this will inevitably lead to a social explosion of unseen proportions.

The war must be stopped immediately, peace must be established, the arrival of the blue helmets must be ensured, and the search for a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the Yugoslav crisis must continue on the basis of endorsed European principles and documents, including The Hague and Brussels documents, Markovic said. He stressed that only in this way can the inevitable process of ruination of each individual and all of us together be halted.

The Federal Government is completely blocked in the process of halting the economic and social crisis, as well as war destruction. It has no competence or possibility of action, let alone of conducting any policy, added Markovic.

The budget for the following year—which was demanded from the Federal Executive Council [FEC]—is supposed to support the continuation of war, financially and politically, considered Markovic, explaining that about 81 percent of the budget relates to financing the Yugoslav People's Army which is, as he put it, completely out of the control of the FEC. Contributions to it are made available exclusively from the new money issue, which considerably contributed to hyper-inflation.

"This does not mean just the continuation of war, death, and destruction, but also the end of any economic and social prospects—against which I fought incessantly during my mandate," Ante Markovic stressed in concluding the statement, which he read out. He then said that, given that he sees no other option but to return his mandate, "he will return it to the president of the SFRY Assembly."

At this time journalists were not given the opportunity to ask questions. However, asked by a journalist when leaving the hall where he would go now, he said; "On holiday."

FEC Continues To Function Without Markovic

LD2112123591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC], according to the Constitution and in the

conditions when its president resigns, must perform its functions with all its rights and obligations until the appointment of a new government, Federal Government Secretary General Zoran Miskovic told TANJUG today.

The FEC members, according to Miskovic, were informed about this yesterday, and the federal government is continuing normally to perform its constitutional and legal functions. The FEC's standing orders, Miskovic stressed, state that the vice president of the FEC replaces the president in the event the president is absent or indisposed, as well as in other cases when the president is not performing his function.

Miskovic stressed that the regular FEC session is scheduled as usual for next Wednesday. Among other things, comments on the proposed documents for the economic policy for next year, Yugoslav international activities, cease-fire, the observance of a brokered cease-fire, and the creation of conditions for the continuation of talks on the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis will be discussed.

Markovic Reason for Resigning Called Dishonest

LD2212182191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic's statement that he was resigning the post of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] President due to an unacceptable draft federal budget for next year—which he called a war budget—is neither true nor honest, Colonel General Nikola Cubra, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, told TANJUG.

A FEC session held on 17, 18, and 20 December did not consider the volume and structure of the expenditure of certain federal budget recipients, which could serve as a basis for judging the character of the budget. The session only discussed ways of setting the budget level and its sources, Gen. Cubra said.

During the discussion, Ante Markovic showed no interest in any budget, but he constantly, fiercely attacked the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. Many FEC members, including myself—I attended the FEC session as an official representative of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense—reacted to this. It is, thus, not surprising that Markovic was isolated, Col. Gen. Cubra said.

In proposing ways to finance its needs in 1992, the Army proceeded from the presupposition that the armed conflicts will end with the help of UN troops and that budgetary funds earmarked for the Army will provide only the minimum necessary for regular life and work, Gen. Cubra said.

According to a proposal of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, three quarters of the budgetary funds earmarked for the Army in the next year would be used for financing its bare needs: for the life and work of the Army—food, public utilities, clothes, health service, salaries.... The rest would be used for resolving social problems faced by approximately 13,000 displaced families of officers who worked in Slovenia and Croatia, and also for paying debts from this year. These include various contributions, Cubra explained.

The tendentiousness of Markovic's statement, Gen. Nikola Cubra stressed, that 80

of the proposed budget goes to the JNA needs is also shown in the fact that a mini-budget was proposed for next year that contains only the most necessary funds for the functioning of the federal institutions, but not the needs that were also planned in previous years, such as economic initiatives. The 80

that Markovic mentioned includes, without foundation, the resources for Army pensions, which otherwise have always been a special budgetary item.

"The war budget", which Ante Markovic mentioned as the main reason for his resignation, does not exist, because nobody ever put forward such a proposal, Gen. Nikola Cubra concluded.

Chief of Staff Urges Transformation of JNA

LD2012234691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2209 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 20 (TANJUG)—Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, General Blagoje Adzic today assessed that the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) must be transformed and that the "doctrine for its use" must be developed.

"The JNA was not prepared for the kind of war that is being fought in our country," Gen. Adzic said at the presentation of awards marking JNA day—December 22. "Many classic concepts and values on which we had based our defence system are not applicable in such a war as this one. We must correct some strategies which were based on misconceptions both in the area of combat doctrine and in the area of the internal building up of the Armed Forces," Gen. Adzic said.

Kadijevic Says Army 'Prepared' to Meet 'Tasks'

LD2112220391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Defence Minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, said today the "Army is prepared to meet the tasks it has been set," but he also demanded that the "political representatives of the nations which decided of their own free will to live in a communal state accelerate efforts towards constituting a new Yugoslav community."

Kadijevic was speaking at a ceremony in Belgrade to mark Yugoslav People's Army Day at which he received a high decoration from Yugoslav Vice-President Branko Kostic—the Order of the Yugoslav Star with Cordon.

Kostic said there had been no major disagreements between the Presidency and the Army.

For the past two-and-a-half months, only the representatives of Montenegro, Serbia and its two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo, have been taking part in the work of the Yugoslav Presidency.

Accusing the Croatian side of failing to abide by a single cease-fire signed so far, Kostic said the Presidency was resolute in its committment to stopping the bloodshed and destruction in Croatia and finding a route to a peaceful settlement of the problem.

Kostic said the Presidency would persevere in the protection of the Serbian people in Croatia and the defence of the sovereign rights of those peoples who had decided to live in Yugoslavia.

Whether or not such efforts will give the expected results does not depend only on the good intentions of the Presidency and other factors on the Yugoslav political scene, but to a great extent also on steps made by foreign factors directly or indirectly involved in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, Kostic said.

Kostic: Blue Helmets Last Chance To Stop War

LD2212230291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2207 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic said this evening that this body would do everything to stop the war. Kostic, who represents Montenegro in the collective head of state, added that, should the Presidency failed in its effort and should it be necessary, the young generations 'will defend the country's freedom in the struggle against fascism'.

The Yugoslav Presidency has seen the last chance for stopping the war in a request addressed to the United Nations for sending peacekeeping troops to the crisis areas in the Republic of Croatia, to take over from the Yugoslav People's Army the task of protecting the Serb people, said Kostic at a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the first proletarian brigade.

He warned that the Serb people within the administrative boundaries of Croatia were facing the threat of another genocide.

The Yugoslav Presidency, which is working with four of its eight members, has requested from the United Nations to send a peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia.

The state leadership has been working in a reduced composition since October 3, because the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia—which have unilaterally seceded from Yugoslavia—have recalled their members and because the members from the Republics of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are not attending the sessions.

FEC Creates Commission for Refugees

LD2212170891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—By a decision of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], the interministerial working group of the federal bodies, the monitoring of the situation, coordination, of overall activities, and proposing of measures for providing for and protecting refugees will become a permanent commission of the Federal Government within the Federal Secretariat for work, health, veterans' issues, and social policy, the FEC Secretariat of Information announced today.

The Commission will coordinate cooperation and direct the work of the federal bodies in Yugoslavia and abroad in the sphere of humanitarian protection and of provision for displaced persons and persons living in threatened areas. It will also take steps toward creating preconditions for permanently securing conditions for the normalization of life in crisis areas.

Newspapers Agree to Form Independent Pool

LD2112230291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2041 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—The journalists of some fifteen newspapers, mostly from Belgrade, agreed today to form a pool of independent newspapers as a bulwark against media warfare and the continued degradation of the journalistic profession.

The pool will probably host a visit by a group of European parliamentarians interested in media affairs who have expressed a desire to visit Yugoslavia late in January.

Some thirty reporters assembled at the round-table meeting organized by the Belgrade daily BORBA agreed that the pool should prepare a "white book" on abuse of the media and journalists in the Yugoslav media war.

All details of the pool will be worked out at the next round-table meeting, which is expected to take place early in January in the organization of the Belgrade weekly VREME.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Interviewed on Bosnia's Independence

AU2012213791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Correspondent Mirza Delibegovic report on an interview with Bosnian Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Delibegovic] Today's decision of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to demand international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina provoked great interest, but also some questions that concerned the reactions of the political parties, primarily the Serbian Democratic

Party. Answering such questions Bosnian Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic stressed:

[Izetbegovic] To be perfectly honest, I did not hear of their reactions. I can only guess what they were. The decision was made some two to three hours ago. I believe that there is no problem that can not be resolved here in Bosnia-Hercegovina, because nothing in Bosnia-Hercegovina (?is changing significantly), the relations between the nations remain (?completely) the same, the rights remain the same. [passage indistinct] I think there is no significant motive [words indistinct].

[Delibegovic] One of the correspondent's questions was what will happen in Bosnia-Hercegovina if the Serbian nation (?proclaims) it own republic on the Bosnia-Hercegovina territory.

[Izetbegovic] [Words indistinct] unilateral decisions that would be neither legitimate nor legal. I think that a temporarily crisis could take place—at the end of the day we all [words indistinct] in a state of the crisis—but I believe that this would be a temporarily state and that Bosnia-Hercegovina is strong enough to sustain this. The stance of the international community, which cannot be ignored, is also known. We are in all aspects greatly dependent of the (?EC) position, and nobody can ignore (?their) position.

Their position is very clear—no violent [word indistinct] even if there were one, it could not last; it could not survive. Bosnia-Hercegovina is a sovereign state, it is (?becoming) one, and I personally think, as I said recently, that everyone has learned a valuable lesson from the Croatian case and that everyone will avoid repeating the tragedy that has occurred there. Because, it is obvious. It is still too early to debate who is responsible and who made mistakes in Croatia [words indistinct] such a situation of such [word indistinct] dimensions because it is obvious that everybody was making mistakes, all participants; therefore, the leaders of the Serbian nation, too.

I believe the leaders of Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina will not allow the Serbian nation to experience a tragedy that [word indistinct] happened, because it is clear today that the Serbian nation suffered most of all. There is no reason for this to happen here because we accept the equality of Serbian people here. We are willing to resolve any problems that might exist through talks. Therefore, I do not consider that the Serbian nation would have a motive to embark on any sort of adventure, that is to say, that other people push them into an adventure and that they allow this to happen. Therefore, I think the chances for chaos emerging in Bosnia-Hercegovina do not exist.

[Delibegovic] When asked to comment on the remarks of the Serbian Democratic Party, which proclaimed this Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency decision unconstitutional, Alija Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] It is the residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina that will decide on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I am convinced that a vast majority of the Bosnia-Hercegovina residents support this decision. Furthermore, I am willing to offer publicly here to all those who are negating this to test my claim at a referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I am absolutely sure that over 85 percent, perhaps even 90 percent, of the residents would vote in favor. One cannot go against a decision that enjoys this support in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The idea of a referendum, which we offered earlier, was rejected. We are now repeating our offer to hold a referendum and to check the demands as to on which side, that is to say, which option the residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina prefer.

[Delibegovic] Some of the reporters' questions referred to the relations with the Yugoslav People's Army, primarily whether the president expects the Army intervention, that is to say, whether he holds firm assurances that the Army will not intervene. Alija Izetbegovic said the following regarding this issue:

[Izetbegovic] I do not expect an Army intervention to take place. I do not believe that the Army will make the mistake it has made in Croatia. I think we have all learned a lesson from the Croatian case, therefore, so did the Army. We expect the Army to accept the decisions made by the civilian authorities, or that is to say, to be a factor of peace and to preserve the peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but to allow political factors to resolve a problem that is not unsolvable, that can be resolved. Of course, the question arises as to what to do if the Army does not behave in the way we expect. Well, I think this would be the Army's end. The confrontation between the Army and the Bosnian people would result in the end of the Army and not the end of the Bosnian people. Therefore, I believe that the Army will not undertake such an exploit. I have no firm assurances, but we will hold talks with the Army in two to three days. The military leadership, led by General Kadijevic, will come. I think the talks will take place at the beginning of next week, most probably on 23 December.

[Delibegovic] Finally, let us add that today's decision to request the international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be forwarded to the EC tomorrow.

Explains Independence Stand

LD2212223791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2056 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—We had no other choice but to request independence and international recognition for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, said this in a lengthy interview on Sarajevo television, where he was a guest of the main news bulletin. According to Izetbegovic, it is a false dilemma whether to opt for Yugoslavia or independence. Our choice was whether we wanted to be independent and equal or to be a part of some Greater Serbia, he said.

Explaining this stand, Izetbegovic said that the current situation was created in Yugoslavia not through the fault of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but by actions of other republics:

Serbia, then Slovenia, Croatia .... We advocated some form of a Yugoslav community, even a Yugoslavia, Izetbegovic said, but this was not accepted. We intend to champion some form of association in which Bosnia-Hercegovina will be treated as equal.

Asked how he sees the creation of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said that this is unconstitutional. He said Bosnia-Hercegovina is a state of three equal nations, Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, and it will continue to be that, and this [independence] solution would be the best for Bosnia-Hercegovina, although it could be further developed. According to him, the creation of some Serbian Bosnia, or Muslim or Croatian Bosnia is impossible to achieve, because it is impossible to divide the republic without making a nation into a national minority.

Izetbegovic believes that a confederal Bosnia-Hercegovina is also unacceptable, because there is not a single nationally homogenous part in it. This is clearly shown, he said, in the last census and the demographic map. He is personally against such an idea because, as he put it, a large proportion of the population would be a national minority. This would cause interethnic conflicts.

Asked by the interviewer whether there is a model of coexistence, in light of the fact that "this republic has come up against the wall," Alija Izetbegovic gave an affirmative reply, stressing that in this part of Yugoslavia nations have lived in harmony for centuries, except for the period of World War II. The way out, according to him, is to improve coexistence on an equal basis.

In this main television news bulletin, Izetbegovic particularly addressed the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He called on them to understand the efforts to preserve peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is, to realize that the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina would not be to the detriment of any nation.

Izetbegovic also said that on Tuesday he will have talks with Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic. If the Yugoslav People's Army works for the preservation of peace and does not take sides, there will be no problem, Izetbegovic said. All disputes can be resolved. But if it enters conflicts with Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens, that will be the end of the army, Izetbegovic said.

Asked what the state of Yugoslavia is, Izetbegovic said that it is a state in the phase of disintegration. I am not saying this with pleasure, he said. Bosnia-Hercegovina has least contributed to that. We need some kind of community.

Bosnia Serbs Vote Against EC Recognition Request

AU2012180191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency decided to file a request for the EC's recognition of the independence of this republic. The representatives of the Serbian nation voted against this decision. With the majority of all votes, Alija Izetbegovic was reelected president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. Ljubomir Nikolic reports from Sarajevo:

[Nikolic] A statement on the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has not been issued yet, but Professor Dr. Nikola Koljevic, [Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency member] informed journalists that Alija Izetbegovic was reelected the president of this organ and that the Presidency decided to file a request for the EC's recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence.

We voted against both conclusions, Koljevic said and added that he and Dr. Biljana Plavsic [Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency member] were against Izetbegovic being elected due to the criticism of his behavior while holding this function. Regarding the decision on the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence, Serbian representatives were of the opinion that the republican and federal constitutions were being violated.

According to the republican constitution, which is still in force, Bosnia-Hercegovina is a part of Yugoslavia. By requesting recognition, republican borders would become state borders and the Serbian nation clearly demonstrated at the plebiscite that it wishes to remain in Yugoslavia, Koljevic said.

When your correspondent asked whether one can expect a more definite stance on the EC declaration from Brussels to be taken at the session of the Serbian Assembly in Bosnia-Hercegovina tomorrow, Dr. Nikola Koljevic answered affirmatively and Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the [Bosnia] Serbian Assembly, [and president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly], today informed us that this will be the main item on the agenda of the Serbian Assembly session tomorrow. Krajisnik added that one can expect more very significant decisions to be taken tomorrow.

The Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina is holding a closed session today. The government is expected to adopt a decision to file a demand for the EC's recognition of this republic. In the government as well, the positions of the representatives of the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community clashed with the positions of the Serbian Democratic Party. It is highly likely that majoritarianism will also prevail at this session and that the government will follow the Republican Presidency. [passage omitted]

Declare Recognition Request 'Null'

AU2112212691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Zdenko Vranjes report]

[Text] Shortly before the beginning of the session of the Assembly of Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Serb ministers in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina

held a news conference. The ministers said that they consider yesterday's decision by the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina to send a request for recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina as null and void, and that they veto it.

At the beginning of the session of the Assembly of Serbian People, it was repeated that yesterday's decision by the government and the presidency was unconstitutional, that such a decision can only be made by a consensus of the assembly, and that the Serbian people in this situation can only agree on consensual division with the help of international arbitration. A letter with a similar message was also sent to Lord Carrington.

In addition to deciding to start work on forming the Republic of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina, the assembly also adopted some suggestions that were heard during the discussion. The suggestion that was particularly emphasized was the one which demands the mobilization of the Serbian people and that the army determine its aims so that people know what needs to be defended.

All this was preceded by numerous bellicose speeches, during which the threat was repeated that one nation will disappear if the idea of the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina was not abandoned. Among the decisions, which were more or less adopted unanimously, is the appeal to the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina to preserve peace and good interethnic relations until final democratic solutions have been found for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The warning which the Assembly of Serbian People sent to the Government and the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina states that the government and the presidency, by having made the decision to request international recognition, are assuming all the consequences of that decision, and that the Serbian people will fully use their right to self-organization in order, as stated, to preserve peace. The Serbian representatives in the government and presidency will leave these organs when and if the Republic of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina is proclaimed.

A report on the current talks between the three ruling parties, which was submitted by Radovan Karadzic on behalf of the Serbian negotiators, states that the Serbian side is offering as its bottom line alternative a Bosnia-Hercegovina as a confederation of three national communities, whereby Sarajevo would have a special status as the administrative center of all three national communities. At present the best thing to do is to divide what can be divided, Karadzic said.

After Dragan Kalenic proposed that the Republic of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina be formed only if this offer by the Serbian negotiators was rejected, Biljana Plavsic demanded that full separation be sought in the negotiations without considering any form of a joint state of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian Serbs Declare Formation of Own Republic

AU2112153091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] Deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement, representatives of the Serbian people in the republican presidency and the government, and scientific and public workers and guests met today in the Congress Hall of the Sarajevo Holiday Inn. The agenda of the fourth session of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina includes the decision of the EC, the appeal to the peoples and citizens of this republic, the forming of the Serbian Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, a report by the committee for negotiations with representatives of the Muslim and Croatian peoples, and the recognition of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Dr. Nikola Koljevic, member of the republican presidency, and Dr. Miodrag Simovic, vice president of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, briefed participants on the way in which the decisions on the recognition of an independent and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina were adopted with a majority vote yesterday. According to Koljevic and Simovic, the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina are not authorized to make decisions that alter the constitutional and legal status of this republic, and therefore these decisions could be considered unconstitutional and illegitimate. These decisions were adopted without the consent of the representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which means without a consensus. In this way the historical and constitutional rights of the Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been violated again.

The letter sent to Lord Carrington stresses that the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot accept an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina which would be outside Yugoslavia, something the Serbian people decided on in the plebiscite at the beginning of last month. In its letter, the Assembly of the Serbian People expressed a sharp protest concerning the request which the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina have sent to the EC to recognize this republic as independent.

Just as the Serbian Democratic Party was forced to found its own assembly because of the domination of the republican organs of authority by the majority, so it was today decided, due to yesterday's decision by the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to form by the Serbian New Year, 14 January 1992, the Republic of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina [Republika Srpske Bosne i Hercegovine] as a federal unit which would form part of the federal state of Yugoslavia.

Form Council of Ministers

LD2112173191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Serbian People of Bosnia-Hercegovina today appointed a Council of Ministers of this body.

The appointed members of the Council of Ministers are: Miodrag Simovic; Ranko Nikolic; Vitomir Zepenic; Ljubisav Terzic; Momcilo Pejic; Milivoje Nadezdin; Branko Djeric; Mico Stanisic; Bozidar Antic; David Balaban; Velibor Ostojic; Vladimir Zrelec; Sava Ceklic; Ljubomir Zokovic; Tatjana Starovic-Nedan; Stevo Horozan; Nedeljko Lajic; Milorad Skoko; and Jovan Cizmovic. All prime ministers of the Serbian autonomous regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina are also members of the Council of Ministers.

Muslims Respond To Serb Setup of Own Republic

AU2212144091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Statement by the Party of Democratic Action Executive Committee]

[Text] Today's decision by the so-called Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina to form a Republic of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina represents not only a legally ambiguous but also a politically suspect act. Bosnia-Hercegovina is and can only be a common state of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, that is to say, all citizens who live in it. Bosnia-Hercegovina, both as a whole and in parts, represents the indivisible property of all of its citizens and peoples.

Any attempt to divide Bosnia-Hercegovina would lead to horrible violence and unforeseeable destruction of people, property, and resources. Bosnia-Hercegovina must be equal in relation to other republics. It will only be equal if it is ensured sovereignty and if it is internationally recognized as a state. The precondition for this is the full civil and national equality of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina itself.

Over the past centuries, the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been, as they are today, resolutely rejecting all attempts to unilaterally and unnaturally sever the links which have bound their destinies. All such attempts led to tragic consequences. Being aware of this, we are convinced that they will now reject the plans for severing links among the peoples for the sake of outdated and futureless nationalist programs. The future of all nations is only possible in a Bosnia-Hercegovina which will be the republic of all of us.

Croatia

Tudjman Replies to EC on Recognition Status

LD2012215491 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has sent a letter to Hans Van den Broek, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers. The letter also includes replies to the declaration on Yugoslavia, the declaration on the guidelines for recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and all related documents. Given the significance of these documents we are presenting them in their entirety:

In their reply to the declaration on Yugoslavia adopted by the EC Foreign Affairs Council on 16 December, the Croatian people voted at the 1991 referendum, and the Croatian Assembly declared, that the Republic of Croatia wants to be recognized as an independent state by all EC member states. Following this, by adopting its constitutional law on human rights and freedoms, and the rights of ethnic and national minorities, the Republic of Croatia has already incorporated in this law all the conditions set by the draft declaration, specifically those in chapter two which are being dealt with by the conference on Yugoslavia.

The reply also says that the Republic of Croatia will continue to support the efforts of the [UN] secretary general, the UN Security Council, as well as the resumption of the conference on Yugoslavia in which it will take part. It also adds that Croatia has accepted UN resolutions 724, 721, and 713 referring to the war in Yugoslavia as well as the latest declaration.

Croatia is fully honoring the cease-fire agreement and lifting the blockade of the Yugoslav Army barracks signed in Geneva on 23 September 1991. In its constitutional proviso on the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia adopted on 23 June 1991, the Croatian Assembly recognized the full sovereignty and international sovereignty of new states which will emerge as a result of the SFRY's breakdown within the SFRY's borders, and within their borders defined by the former constitution, and by mutual agreements on a democratic basis.

Therefore, the reply goes on to say, the Republic of Croatia has no territorial claims on any other neighboring country and it will not wage hostile propaganda against any neighboring country or community. Regarding the declaration on the guidelines for the recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, we declare:

The Republic of Croatia will respect the provisions of the UN Charter, the final Helsinki document, and the Paris Charter, particularly with regard to the rule of law, democracy, and human rights.

The Republic of Croatia assumes the duty of honoring all rights and obligations in its capacity as one of the inheritors of the former SFRY, which was a signatory state.

The aforementioned constitutional law of 4 December 1991 is entirely based on the obligations stemming from the CSCE framework, as well as from chapter two of the draft convention which is being considered by the conference on Yugoslavia.

As has already been said, the Republic of Croatia will respect the inviolability of all borders which can only be changed in a peaceful way and by agreement. For its part, the Republic of Croatia takes on itself the obligation under part five of its constitutional decision on sovereignty and independence, which was adopted by the Croatian Assembly on 25 June, and it recognizes the full sovereignty and international identity of all the new states which will come into existence as a result of the SFRY's disintegration within the SFRY's existing borders and within their borders, along the lines defined by the former constitution and democratic agreements.

As one of the SFRY's successors, the Republic of Croatia therefore accepts all obligations and charters regarding disarmament and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as security and regional stability. Following its international recognition and incorporation in international organizations, it will also take part in making new agreements of this kind.

The Republic of Croatia solemnly declares that it will resolve by agreement, and if necessary by arbitration, all matters regarding state succession and regional disputes. Enclosed with the reply of the Republic of Croatia to the declaration on the guidelines for recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are:

The report on the referendum results. The constitutional decision on the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia. The declaration on establishing sovereignty and independence. The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. The constitutional law on human rights and freedoms, and the freedoms of ethnic and national communities and minorities.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman also stresses in his letter of to Van den Broek, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, that the results of the referendum and the constitutional provision to start with a procedure to gain international recognition shows that the citizens of the Republic of Croatia want the Republic of Croatia to be recognized as an independent state.

The Republic of Croatia, President Tudjman also stresses, accepts and endorses all conditions outlined in the guidelines for international recognition which were adopted at the [17 December] meeting of the EC Council of Ministers.

Foreign Ministry Rejects EC Border Review

LD2112150391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—"Croatia does not consent to any negotiations concerning existing borders". This is stressed in the reply of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the arbitration commission of the Hague conference on Yugoslavia in response to the question: Has the Serbian nation in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, as one of the constituent nations in Yugoslavia, the right to self-determination?.

"The rights of every national group, that is, minority, in any republic or state have to be guaranteed, while at the same time this minority must respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the republic in question, it is stated in the answer. National minorities, it adds, do not have the right to secession, but to the protection of their rights within the legal system of the republic in question." The opinion is also expressed that "parts of the Serbian nation outside Serbia cannot have the same rights as other nations, because if that was the case, the Serbian nation would have more rights and powers if it were made up of those parts which unilaterally declare themselves constituent nations or republics."

The Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs furthermore stresses that "threats to the territorial integrity of Croatia, by the creation of one or more of the so-called Serbian autonomous provinces or 'states' on its territory, with the use of agression furthermore, are totally against the law."

In reply to the qestion of the arbitration commission about the internal borders from the international legal point of view, especially those between Croatia and Serbia, and between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs says: "Crotia, Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and the other republics and the two autonomous provinces have established fixed borders which are recognized as such in all the federal constitutions." It is also claimed that "most of these borders have deep historical roots."

Tudjman Addresses Nation on Sovereignty

LD2212204791 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Address to the nation by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on 22 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] Dear men and women of Croatia, respected and dear compatriots, citizens and combatants, defenders of our Holy Land:

The centuries-long dream of the Croatian people is finally being turned into actual reality. Croatia as an independent, autonomous, democratic, and fully sovereign state, is becoming a full and internationally legally recognized entity. During the entire 14-century long Croatian history, all generations of the Croatian people on this soil between the Mura, Drava, Danube [rivers] and the Adriatic Sea have aspired toward, lived and died, for this goal.

This natural aspiration on the road to the historical formation of an independent Croatian nation, as well as the like natural aspiration of all other nations, has been present under all circumstances when the human community has been transformed, and during all transformations of the

international order in this part of the world. This natural aspiration was characterized in thought, intent, horrific act, and even dubious actions by all those names which helped Croatia enter into and remain in the history of humankind, from the 7th century to the present day, both in peace and war, in all areas of state, economic, and cultural life. [passage omitted]

In the later stages of historical development, under the influence of the changed balance of power in European history, Croatia was under foreign kings, first in a personal union and then in a real state union with the state of Hungary, and then with Austria under the Habsburg monarchy. Even under these circumstances, all the way up to 1918, Croatia retained the status of a special, even a divided, Triune Kingdom, but its sovereignty and independence were mostly diminished with the loss of sovereignty in international life. In return, Croatia has become part of Central Europe in all respects, apart from that which was turned into a separate entity of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the Ottoman occupation. [passage omitted]

Under the dramatic circumstances of World War II, when the then two most powerful world ideologies and powers fought for the body and soul of the European nations, the Croatian nation found itself divided between them in its desire to secure its independence and autonomy. The side which took part in the anti-fascist struggle was on the side of the victorious forces of the democratic coalition, thus securing the preservation of its state independence within the Yugoslav federal state community.

Despite the fact that within the SFRY the sovereignty and independence of the Socialist Republic of Croatia were curtailed and even totally limited regarding international relations, its constitutional position ensured—under the circumstances of the total collapse of the communist order in Europe—the establishement of a democratic order in Croatia, and then its gradual independence and international recognition in a proportionally short period of time.

First, a victory for democratic forces in the first free elections, and the establishment of a democratic multiparty system in Croatia instead of the single-party communist system, on 30 May 1990.

Second, the adoption of constitutional amendments on 25 July last year, by which all ideological communist and socialist symbols were dropped in the Republic of Croatia.

Third, the proclamation of the first democratic constitution of the Republic of Croatia on 22 December— this very day last year.

Fourth, the implementation of a referendum on 19 May 1991 in which a large majority of the Croatian people and all citizens of the Republic of Croatia voted in favor of full independence, which was enacted in the constitutional decision of the Croatian Assembly on 25 June this year.

Fifth, the successful defense of the Republic of Croatia against an aggression launched by the Yugoslav Communist Army, Serbia, and Montenegro, initiated by a staged victory of the Serbian [corrects himself] rebellion of the Serbian extremists aimed at toppling the democratic government of Croatia, conquering Croatian territories, and creating a Greater Serbia.

Sixth, the successful negotiating and diplomatic efforts of the Republic of Croatia, first within the Federal Presidency, between republics, and then within the Hague conference for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and for stopping the war in Croatia. Finally, with representatives of the World Organization of United Nations, and with Cyrus Vance, personal envoy of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, in connection with the resolutions of the Security Council on the necessity of deploying UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia and in other republics of former Yugoslavia. Within the framework of the mentioned international examination of the Yugoslav crisis and the war against Croatia, crucial moments occurred:

—When the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia issued its draft convention on 1 December 1991;

—when the European Arbitration Commission adopted its conclusion on 7 December;

—when the European Community Ministerial Council issued its declaration on Yugoslavia on 16 December;, and finally,

—when the U.S. Government issued its latest statement on 20 December this year.

The Arbitration Commission composed of top European experts on international and constitutional law concluded that the Yugoslav Federal Community no longer existed, that it was in the process of disintegration. By its latest statement the U.S. Government finally abandoned the policy of preserving Yugoslavia in any form. Having recognized the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the U.S. Government singled out Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] as the aggressors in the war against Croatia and accepted the EC conditions on the recognition of new states. In its declaration on Yugoslavia the European Community expressed its will to recognize all its members by 15 January 1992, i.e. the independence of all those Yugoslav republics which by 23 December ask to be recognized, and which fulfill and accept the conditions of general democratic principles.

Croatia has already met these conditions by its constitution, by the referendum, by the declaration of indepedence, by its constitutional law on the rights of ethnic communities and national minorities, and by declaring on 17 December 1991 the readiness on the basis of the Hague conference draft document and the UN Security Council's resolution to achieve peace and to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, by respecting the principle that there can be no changes to the existing borders through the use of force.

This course of events has created prerequisites for Croatia's international recognition. As early as 19 December the decision to recognize Croatia was made by the governments of Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Iceland. The following day the same decision was made by the government of Malta, while the state secretariat of the Holy See also spoke in favor of recognition. The fact that the Vatican and the holy father, Pope John Paul II, personally, as the supreme spiritual and moral authority in the world today, have interceded in favor of Croatia's recognition, has been of special significance for influencing world public and official opinion. Even earlier Croatia was recognized by the countries which are also fighting for their international recognition: Slovenia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Ukraine.

According to recent pronouncements from official and parliamentary ranks, it can be expected that the decision to recognize us will be made very soon by many other European and world countries: Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Australia, Canada, and others. Other EC countries should follow suit by 15 January, and there are reasons to expect the United States, as the largest power and most responsible for the stability of world order, to do the same soon.

In light of all this it can be concluded that Croatia has already gained its recognition. Despite the fact that the recognition was opposed by many factors not favorably inclined toward Croatia, Europe and the world gradually became aware that Croatia was not just defending its newly acquired freedom and democracy and its state-historical territory, but also that it has had to shoulder this horrific war launched in an attempt to restore communism in this part of Europe, and to aggressively rearrange borders. This war assumed such destructive proportions and has lasted for so long because it has taken place at a time of major, and I dare say, historic changes in relations between international powers in both Europe and the world as a whole.

Under such circumstances, our success in achieving relatively rapid recognition for Croatia is all the more surprising. We can state with pride that this success is the result of maturity in our program policy, which is the basis for developing Croatia as a democratic state. We have gained independence due to our determination to defend our freedom and independence, but at the same time to our readiness to harmonize our interests with those of Europe and of the democratic world.

In contrast and due to our political strategy, the aggressor's policy was met with increasing international isolation. This policy was exposed by both its barbarian vandalism which destroyed entire settlements and towns, the destruction and persecution of the civilian population, and by its flagrant disregard for all democratic principles and international and legal codes of behavior.

Dear Croatian women and men in our homeland and abroad, respected and dear citizens of Croatia:

The international recognition of Croatia is the end of a phase of establishing the independent state of Croatia. In a very short period of time we have managed to do a lot, and we can state that it is even more than many of us even dared to dream of. We have resurrected our shaken and shattered national awareness. We have united the Croats at home and abroad, all Croatia's regions, all generations, and all classes. We have rekindled hope and faith in all people that on their own, helped by God, reason, and resolve, they can decide on the present and the future of their country. Therefore, we can today look back with pride at the path lying behind us and the results that we have achieved, holding our heads high, with seething hearts, but also with a clear conscience. On its own, with its own forces, and on the bases of its own judgments, Croatia has won the right to have its own place in the international world community as a sovereign and independent state for the first time in its written history.

Sacrifices that we have so far had to offer to the altar of freedom and independence are huge, but also sacred. No people has ever gained its freedom as a gift, but always through fighting and sacrificing itself, through reason and zeal, through efforts and pains. Let us be aware of that. No matter how deeply we feel and mourn because of the suffering of our people and the destruction of our homes and villages, towns, and churches, I hold that we can conclude that we have already done the bulk of the work on the path of building an independent and internationally recognized Croatia.

But, of course, not everything. We now face the task of completely liberating every inch of Croatian soil. On our part we will do everything to achieve that by stopping the war, and with the help of international factors, both the European Community and the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations. But if the Yugo-Serbian Army of occupation, despite the efforts of the EC Ministerial Council and the UN Security Council, does not withdraw from all Croatian territory, we have to be ready to continue with the defensive war until the Serbian and Montenegrin occupiers have been completely driven out of Croatia.

We call on Serbian people from Croatia who were forced by deception into a barbaric war against their homeland, to lay down their arms and return to a peaceful life. All rights are guaranteed for Serbs and all other members of ethnic communities and national minorities in Croatia, and only criminals will be held responsible for their barbaric acts.

This democratic Croatia has already condemned all crimes committed against Jews, Serbs, and Romanies during World War II, and also crimes against Croats by ordering that truth is established impartially. Croatia will now ask that an international commission investigate crimes committed in this war against Croatia, in the war which surpassed the evil during World War II, in which not only the civilian Croatian populations suffered, but also members of all minorities, and even foreign citizens and journalists and reporters [illegible] The Netherlands, Germany, France, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and Russia.

In view of the fact that our international recognition is directly linked to ending the war, it is necessary for me to declare solemnly: Croatia wants its international recognition to lead to an absolute cessation of hostilities, to ending the war, to the peaceful departure of the Army of occupation, and to a political solution to the all-Yugoslav crisis.

Respected and dear compatriots, even now before the final liberation of all places, we must invest efforts in the revival, revival, and rebuilding of destroyed and devastated parts of our bleeding homeland. We continue to count on the widespread and selfless help of friendly countries, but we must, above all, rely on our own intellectual and creative abilities and sources, both in the homeland and diaspora.

Naturally we must continue with the battle for the international recognition of Croatia and its inclusion in the European Community and the United Nations. The international recognition of Croatia gives rise to increased worries in parts of the Croatian nation which are outside the current Republic of Croatia or who are living throughout the world. The nation and those people who, in spite of all tempests and the insatiable hatred of our enemy, in spite of the blindness of great powers and traps of the unseen objects—knew how to stir the wondering Croatian ship from the historical wasteland and darkness to the free Adriatic with waving Croatian flags, and also toward international recognition, will know how to deal with possible new dangers which could be waiting on our road.

I have no doubts that the Croatian nation which has survived on this geopolitical turbulent soil during its more than 1,000 years of history, will now—when it has won its full internationally recognized independence after almost nine centuries—have sufficient spiritual and creative powers, intellectual ability, and considered resolve to overcome all difficulties, and ensure peace and strengthen the foundations of its happy future.

We will finish with dignity the work that we have been entrusted with. We will liberate and develop our suffering homeland. We will take our only Croatia into the ranks of the developed and democratic countries of the free world.

Tudjman Answers Questions on Current Developments

LD2312001491

[Editorial Report] Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian at 1920 GMT on 22 December begins to broadcast a live 90-minute phone-in program with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman as the studio guest.

The program takes the form of a question and answer session, interspersed with pre-recorded films about developments in Croatia since Tudjman came to power. During the program questions written down by receptionists are brought to the table to be asked to Tudjman. Tudjman is asked with hindsight, would he have done anything differently. Tudjman replies in general, no.

He is then asked about the role of the Croatian Guard and its relationship with the Defense Ministry. Tudjman says that the Guards are not independent but their main task is to prepare for combat operations.

On the possibility of continuing to live with Serbs from Croatia, Tudjman says that coexistence is possible with Serbs who have committed no crimes during this war. He adds that Croatia must cooperate with all countries, including Serbia, once the latter recognizes it.

A caller asks whether the UN forces will thwart Croatia's efforts to regain lost territories. On the contrary, Tudjman replies, once the Army withdraws from those territories they will not longer be considered occupied.

Will Croatia inist on gaining some Bosnia-Hercegovina territories? Tudjman says that Croatia does not need international arbitration with regard to its borders, but the fact is that its area is smaller now than in 1918 when it joint Yugoslavia, and that Croatia cannot ignore sections of its nation living beyond its borders.

Tudjman is asked when the war will end. He says that in view of the latest U.S. pronouncements, the war should be over by the end of the current year. A caller asks will Milosevic continue to wage war after the U.S. warning. Tudjman replies that he will have to stop, as he has no other choice because of isolation.

In reply to other questions Tudjman says: The United States initially supported the idea of preserving Yugoslavia with the help of Ante Markovic's reforms. The latest statement by the U.S. Government is a crucial turnabout. Profiteers will be punished. Croatia will accept paying its share of foreign debt, but expects to gain something after the disassociation.

On the point of officials filling positions, Tudjman says that Mr. Slavko Degoricija will become reconstruction minister, and that Stipe Mesic will become president of the Croatian Democratic Community Executive Committee.

In conclusion, Tudjman says that he is in good health and that will fight the next presidential election.

Assassination Attempt on Tudjman Reported

LD2212225491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERENJE NOVOSTI writes in tomorrow's issue that an attempt to assassinate Croatian President Franjo Tudjman took place in the night between December 18 and 19. According to the paper, shots from automatic weapons and five rifle grenades were fired at a motorcade which also included the armoured car of President Tudjman. The bullets only scratched the limousine, while the grenades all fell short of their targets.

Quoting a U.S. intelligence report, VECERNJE NOVOSTI says that German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was immediately informed about the

incident. According to the same source, Genscher telephoned Tudjman and told him to hush up the whole affair "in the interest of Europe". The paper claims that the intelligence services of Italy, Austria and some other countries have also been informed about the incident.

Quoting foreign intelligence sources, the paper dwells on various speculations as to the motives and organizers of the assassination attempt and mentions accusations exchanged in this regard between Croatia's Interior Ministry and military leadership.

HDZ Chairman Proposes Mesic as Party Secretary

LD2112210191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Since Stipe Mesic does not hold any official political post following his departure from the federal Presidency, he is being proposed for a new post. We want to involve Stipe Mesic in political activities, hence there are proposals that he become general secretary of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. This was anounced at a news conference today by the HDZ Executive Committee Chairman Slavko Degoricija. It is yet to be seen whether he will get that or some other post, "but he will certainly take up a post in the party", Degoricija specified.

Curfew Imposed in Serbian Krajina 'Republic'

LD2212211891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1939 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Dvor na Uni, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—A curfew has been imposed on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina from 1800 (1700 GMT) to 0600. The serving of alcoholic drinks is forbidden during the curfew.

This was agreed, as stated, at a meeting today between the minister for internal affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the command of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] First Operational Group, the Banija and Kordun Territorial Defense Headquarters, the municipal presidents, and the head of the security service of this area.

Apart from the expressed support for the stands of the Assembly and Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina regarding the demarcation line with Croatia and the presence of UN forces, it was agreed that the mobilization is to be controlled and that qualitative cooperation between the civil authorities and the JNA is to be achieved. It was noted that there is a need for the police force to join the defense, but the primary police task is at this moment to prevent robbery, deviant behavior, shootings, and other forms of public disorder.

Citizens must be told publicly that there is no conflict between (Milan) Babic (the Krajina premier) and (Milan) Martic (the Krajina interior minister), and that both firmly support the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Community of Croat Montenegrins Set Up in Zagreb

LD2112221291 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The task of the first national community which has been set up in the independent Republic of Croatia—the National Community of Croatia's Montenegrins—is a very difficult but also an honorable one. In addition to the usual task of such communities which will be set up in this new European state—to present needs, but also the cultural and other achievements of its members—this community will be charged with clearing the name of all honorable members of the Montenegrin people after the war in which Montenegrin volunteers have been taking part, and thus have been besmirching the reputation of the Montenegrin nation. [Video shows Dr. Drago Kastratovic, chairman of the assembly of the National Community of Croatia's Montenegrins]

[Begin Kastratovic recording] Some Montenegrins—those with ecological problems in their heads, with the hogwash of the Serbian propaganda in their brains, keep saying that we are well accepted here because this environment is after Croatianizing us. The truth is of course completely different. Cultural and other ties between Croatia and Montenegro have been built on solid bases through nonpolitical means. [end recording]

The National Community of Croatia's Montenegrins have sent a protest letter to Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, accusing him of Montenegro's historical humiliation and its barbarism.

Croatian Dinar Introduced as New Currency

LD2312113591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Croatia introduced today a new currency called the Croatian dinar. The Yugoslav dinar will be legal tender in Croatia up to and including Tuesday, December 24, governor of the National Bank of Croatia Ante Cicin-Sain has said.

The exchange rate of the Croatian dinar, the Yugoslav dinar and the Slovenian tolar will be 1:1:1 until the end of the year, and the exchange will be possible in all banks, post offices and state accounting service branches throughout the republic.

We have selected an optimal moment for the introduction of a Croatian currency, Cicin-Sain said, adding that efforts would be made to regulate payments with all other Yugoslav republics by the end of the year.

The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia launched its own monetary system on October 8 this year by introducing the tolar, for which dinars were also exchanged at parity. The current Yugoslav dinar, which dates from January 1, 1990, when four zeros were struck from the then dinar, is still legal tender in the Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Urges 'Conditional' Recognition

LD2012213291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Novi Sad, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic today said he believed that the recognition of individual Yugoslav republics should be made "conditional on their remaining in a Yugoslav community, albeit a loose one."

Speaking at a panel discussion in Novi Sad, Bulatovic said that he had voiced this stand in his talk yesterday with the chairman of The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington.

Stressing that he urged a resumption of The Hague conference, Bulatovic underlined that, in case there should be a selective recognition of individual Yugoslav republics, the conference would no longer make sense.

Bulatovic said that, in that case, nobody could be found to sponsor further peace talks, because the recognized republics would certainly not attend them.

It would be best if U.N. peace-keeping troops should come for two purposes: to protect Serbs in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and create conditions for reaching a political solution to the crisis by peaceful means, Bulatovic said.

Foreign Minister: Sovereignty Granted in 1878

LD2012213191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Kotor, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—Foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Nikola Samardzic said today that Montenegro would not beg for sovereignty, "not because it does not wish to cooperate with the European Community, but because it does not need sovereignty that has to be begged for".

If Yugoslavia ceases to exist, Montenegro and Serbia need not seek sovereignty because they were granted unlimited sovereignty at the 1878 Berlin congress, said Samardzic.

He added that Montenegro should preserve its statehood, "which does not imply that it will stiffle the Serb spirit".

After meeting with Lord Carrington in Belgrade yesterday, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic told reporters that the E.C.'s latest proposal for resolving the Yugoslav crisis was "a major step backward." The proposal has "many shortcomings" and it is subject to "serious criticism," he added.

Samardzic said it was in Montenegro's interest to urge cooperation and coexistence in the Balkans, but warned that fascist forces were becoming increasingly prominent since the German unification, both in Germany and outside it. "This is why we have to unite in the struggle against fascism, like we did during World War Two," he said.

Assembly Discusses EC Declaration on Recognition

AU2312125191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] At the moment, it is not essential to make special demands for the recognition of Montenegro as an independent and sovereign state. This was said by Svetozar Marovic [member of the Presidency of Montenegro] on behalf of the Montenegrin Presidency at an emergency session of the Montenegrin Assembly. The Assembly is discussing the EC's declaration on Yugoslavia and the declaration of the Council of Ministers of the European Twelve on recognizing the Yugoslav republics who want to be recognized.

Montenegro acquired sovereignty and the status of an international subject [subjektivitet] as early as 1878. It entered the Yugoslav state with this status. If Yugoslavia disappears, which is something that Montenegro does not want, Svetozar Marovic stressed, the sovereignty of this republic would continue in line with the decisions of the Congress of Berlin of 1878.

In Marovic's opinion, the stand of the EC is a step back in relation to all previous documents on resolving the Yugoslav crisis. The EC is now offering sovereignty to everyone but at the same time is ignoring the existence of Yugoslavia. This was stressed among other things by Svetozar Marovic.

At the beginning of the session, the Assembly of Montenegro rejected in a majority vote the proposal to put on the agenda as a special point the recognition of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina. Risto Vukcevic, Assembly president, explained that this request had been received but neither the president, the government, or the deputies's clubs had expressed their views on it. This proposal for the recognition of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina will be submitted to go through the regular procedure and will be on the agenda of the next session of the Assembly of Montenegro.

Serbia

Opposition Blames Ruling Party for 'Suffering'

LD2212114991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] sympathizes with the suffering and exodus of thousands of Serbs in western Slavonia and it will do everything within its power to end, or at least alleviate, their suffering as soon as possible, a statement issued by the SPO says today.

At the same time, the SPO regrets the fact that the afflicted Serbian people in western Slavonia and elsewhere have not yet identified the main culprits behind their predicament because they still believe official propaganda which defines "the SPO's treacherous influence" as the main culprit, the statement says.

Since the authorities claim that only six percent of Serbia's citizens support the SPO's policies, the statement asks, how could the SPO then be accused of "damaging activities on an enormous scale?" They are also citing their opinion polls, according to which 80 percent of the citizens firmly support Slobodan Milosevic and Vojislav Seselj, so one concludes that "if this is the case then the two of them and their supporters are the main, and in effect sole, culprits."

"Once this war is over, peace will reveal the truth about everything and everyone. Then the hundreds of thousands of victimized Serbs in Croatia will realize that they were driven into their suffering by those who addressed them through their loudspeakers and who were promising them, and still are, a border along the Karlobag-Ogulin-Virovitica line; who were promising, and still are, that they will cleanse everything "between Zadar and Skoder" [Albania]; who are threatening in public that they will bombard the nuclear power station at Krsko and launch a napalm attack on Zagreb; who in Slavonia's Serbian villages were calling on people, even before the war began, to "exterminate all Croats, children and elderly included, like stray dogs," the SPO's statement says.

Opposition Parties Sign Cooperation Agreement

AU2012165191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Presidents of the [Belgrade] town committees of the Democratic Party and Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] signed an agreement on cooperation and joint activities today. Drasko Miletic reports:

[Miletic] The agreement on joint activities of the opposition parties has the character of a political document. In the future, the two parties will take a coordinated stand on political, economic, social, urban, and ecology issues. Three representatives from each party will form a coordinating committee of the joint Belgrade opposition that will also decide on other opposition parties' joining them. The time for a joint action has come and a group of deputies from these two parties agreed to coordinate their actions in the Serbian Assembly, Radomir Urosevic [SPO representative] said.

Vladan Batic, [Democratic Party representative] emphasized that the agreement does not represent a political coalition, but rather a joint action by the Belgrade town committees. Having learned a lesson at last year's elections, we will no longer oppose each other because this only helps the parties in power.

When asked by a journalist about any future actions, the signatories to the agreement proposed the organization of public tribunes and annual assemblies, which will, according to them, return to Belgrade the image of an European metropole.

At the end, Urosevic and Batic particularly stressed that this agreement represents a radical appearance of these two parties on the Serbian political scene as well as protection of the basic principles of the activities of the opposition parties.

Kosovo

Council of Albanian Parties Seeks EC Recognition

AU2012204591 Tirana ATA in English 1831 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 20 (ATA)—The Coordinating Council of the Albanian Political Parties of Kosovo made a statement on December 19, addressed to the Assembly and Government of the Republic of Kosovo with the demand to forward before the respective forums of the European Community the request for the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo, showing at the same time their readiness [word indistinct] for independent constituency, according to all the democratic demands of the European Community.

The statement hails and backs up the stand and demand of the European Community for the democratic transformation of the relations in the territories of Yugoslavia until now. At the same time, it voices the hope and strong conviction that in the process of the democratic reconstruction of the federal units of Yugoslavia, the correct democratic demands of the Albanians for equality, independence and self-determination will be understood and respected, the Republic of Kosovo and the Albanians as a constituent factor in Macedonia, Montenegro and in Serbia will be accepted.

The statement stresses also that a federal community, with striking tendencies of unitarism and hegemony, which allowed relations of inequality inside it, moreover the elimination of a federal unit from the other, which made possible annexations and occupations, which for over a decade is keeping the Albanian people in conditions of discrimination, in an unconstitutional and illegal situation, the incessant special and extraordinary measures, a community where inter-republican wars and aggressions may take place, cannot exist and is not worth existing.

Kosovo Serbs Concerned With Secessionism

AU2112180291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 91

[By Milisav Milic]

[Text] The Provincial Committee of the Kosovo-Metohija branch of the Socialist Party of Serbia today discussed various political and security issues, and warned that the appetite of Albanian secessionists for the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo is growing. This is the result of the long-lasting collaboration between Croats and Slovenes, on the one hand, and Albanians on the other.

The EC declaration, which reflects the interests of the more powerful states, above all Germany, has increased the danger of armed conflict spreading in Yugoslavia.

The committee supported the latest appeal by the SFRY Presidency to international institutions.

The leadership of the Socialist Party of Kosovo-Metohija holds the view that the deployment of UN forces could be the best guarantee for establishing peace and preventing clashes which, as pointed out in a statement, could spread throughout Europe.

Slovenia

Assembly Meets To Vote on New Constitution

AU2312115591

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene at 0920 on 23 December carries a one-hour live relay, from the Slovene Assembly of a joint session of the three chambers of the Assembly—the Social Political Chamber; the Chamber of Communes; and the Chamber of Associated Labor.

The Assembly is to hear a presentation of the proposed new Slovene constitution and then vote on it. A correspondent explains the procedural requirements for the adoption of the new constitution. It must be accepted by a two-thirds majority in separate votes in each of the three chambers.

At 0930 GMT the joint session is opened by Ivan Bizjak, head of the Chamber of Communes.

In a 43-minute speech from 0932 to 1015 GMT France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly, presents the constitution. He explains that the Slovene Constitutional Commission has worked on it a long time, work being protracted partially as a result of the hostilities in July. He stresses that the new constitution is not a political program like the previous one, but a document of political consensus on the basis of achieved rights. As a result, Bucar emphasizes, it is not an ideological document.

Bucar starts the presentation of the new constitution by stating: "Everything that is not prohibited is allowed." The aim of the new constitution is to allow the maximum degree of personal freedom, Bucar says, and for this reason the new constitution is much shorter, because, Bucar continues "every legal norm, in a way, represents a violation of personal freedom." Numerous old declarative rights, for example the right to work, have been abolished, Bucar says. The provisions concerning the economic system have also been left out of the new Slovene constitution, because this system should be left open to adapt itself to the new circumstances and changes in the economy, he continues.

Bucar also presents changes in the organization of the state. The new assembly will be bicameral in essence, Bucar says, but the chambers will not be equal in powers and rights. The present Executive Council will be transformed into a government in the proper sense of the word, becoming the top governing body in the country.

Bucar explains the significant changes affecting the local communities. Hierarchic links between the state and the local communities are abolished in the new constitution, Bucar says. He goes on to say that local communities are completely autonomous in local matters, because, the local communities are historically older than the state.

Bucar urges the deputies to accept the constitution and not to propose any amendments at this stage, stressing that the proposed constitution is the result of long and detailed coordination of all political parties. Under the existing constitution the question of altering the constitution would have to rest for a year if the current proposal fails to obtain the required majority in each of the three chambers.

Finally, Bucar stresses that the transformation of Slovene society has been peaceful and during the process the old constitution and law was strictly adhered to. As a result, Bucar says, Slovenes have proved themselves a society that has a keen sense of legal responsibility.

Having completed the presentation of the new constitution, Bucar presents the constitutional law on the implementation of the new constitution, proposing that the deputies adopt it together with the Slovene constitution.

After Bucar ends his speech, chairman Ivan Bizjak concludes the joint session, explaining the three chambers will immediately proceed with their work separately.

At 1017 GMT a correspondent informs listeners that he has learned that a Christian Democratic Party deputy has already filed an amendment on Article 55, which concerns the right of abortion.

The relay ends at 1020 GMT. The outcome of the voting is expected late this afternoon.

Rupel Says Recognition Represents End of SFRY

LD2212095491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2119 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel said today that the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia represented the beginning of a non-recognition of Yugoslavia. This means "the end of excuses and justifications for the Yugoslav Army," Rupel said at the opening of the first congress of the Democratic Party of Slovenia.

After the split in the Slovenian Democratic Alliance, which won the parliamentary elections in Slovenia in December 1989 as a multi-party coalition, its president Dimitrij Rupel in October this year left the Alliance and formed the Democratic Party.

Rupel said the "definitive collapse of the Yugoslav institutions," which, he said, was presaged by his departure by Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, would "win over to Slovenia the U.S. Government."

The State Department in a statement issued last night expressed regret over Markovic's resignation, pointing out that it understood fully the reasons for his resignation, which, it is said, he submitted under "strong pressure from the rump Yugoslav Presidency, dominated by Serbia."